A NEW HISTORY OF ENGLAND,

FROM THE DESCENT of the ROMANS, TO THE DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

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HISTORY *is philosophy teaching by examples.*
Bolingbroke *from* Dion. Hali.

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THE
History of ENGLAND.

The HISTORY of GEORGE II. continued. A. D. 1757.

WHatever hopes the nation might have conceived of the success of his majesty's arms in America, almost every event in that part of the world turned out quite contrary to expectation. The earl of London, instead of being able to act the part of a general, was obliged to descend to

the more humble character of a mediator, and to endeavour to establish a spirit of harmony and concord among the several provinces; a task too, in which he found it no easy matter to succeed.

In the mean time, the enemy were pursuing the blow given at Oswego, and taking advantage of the dissensions, that unhappily prevailed in the British councils. By their successes, in the preceding campaign, they had made themselves masters of all the lakes; from whence they were enabled to practise on the Indians in all the different districts, and oblige them, by rewards, promises, and menaces, to declare in their favour. Every accession of strength to them, was a real diminution of that of the British commander; and the ignorance and pusillanimity of some of the inferior officers in our back settlements was, in effect, more prejudicial to the English, than all the vigilance and activity of the enemy.

In consequence of the shameful loss of Oswego, they voluntarily abandoned to the mercy of the French general the whole country of the Five Nations, the only body of Indians who had inviolably adhered to their engagements, or indeed that had preserved any sincere regard for the British government. The communication with these

faithful

faithful allies was now cut off, by the imprudent demolition of the forts we held at the great Carrying place. A strong fort, indeed, was built at Winchester, and called Fort Loudon, after the commander in chief; and four hundred Cherokee Indians joined the English forces at Fort Cumberland: but this was far from compensating for the losses sustained in consequence of our having imprudently stopped up Wood-creek, and filled it with logs.

Every person, in the least acquainted with the country, could easily see the weakness of these measures, by which our whole frontier was left open and exposed to the irruption of the savages in the French interest, who would not fail to profit by our blunders, too notorious to escape their observation. By the removal of these barriers, a path was opened to our fine settlements on those grounds called the German Flats, and along the Mohawk's river, which the enemy destroyed with fire and sword before the end of the campaign.

In the mean time, lord Loudon was exerting his utmost endeavours to unite the provinces, and to raise a force sufficient to give some decisive blow. The attack on Crown Point, which had been so long meditated, was postponed, as of less importance

than the intended expedition to Louisbourg, now substituted in its place, and undoubtedly an object of far greater consequence. Admiral Holbourn arrived at Hallifax, with the squadron and transports under his command, on the ninth of July; and it was loud Loudon's intention to repair thither with all possible expedition, in order to take upon him the command of the land-forces; but a variety of accidents interposed. It was with the utmost difficulty he at length collected a body of six thousand men, with which he instantly began his march to join the troops lately arrived from England. When the junction was effected, the whole army amounted to twelve thousand men; a force that raised the greatest expectations. Some small vessels were immediately dispatched to examine and reconnoitre the condition of the enemy, and the intermediate time was employed in embarking the troops, as soon as the transports arrived.

The report of the scouts totally altered the face of affairs: they brought the unwelcome news, that M. de Bois de la Mothe, who had sailed in the month of May from Brest with a large fleet of men of war and transports, was now riding at anchor in the harbour of Louisbourg. Their intelligence was confirmed by the testimony of several de-

deſerters; yet ſtill the account ſeemed doubtful, and many perſons believed, that the enemy's ſtrength had been greatly magnified. Such advices, however, could not but occaſion extraordinary fluctuations in the councils of war at Halliſax. Some were for laying aſide all thoughts of the expedition for that ſeaſon; while others, more warm in their diſpoſitions, and ſanguine in their expectations, were for proſecuting it with vigour, in ſpite of all dangers and difficulties.

Their diſputes were carried on with great vehemence, when a packet, bound from Louiſbourg for France, was taken by one of his majeſty's ſhips ſtationed at Newfoundland. This packet had letters on board, which put the enemy's ſuperiority, at leaſt by ſea, beyond all queſtion. It clearly appeared, that there were, at that time, in Louiſbourg ſix thouſand regular troops, three thouſand natives, and one thouſand three hundred Indians, with ſeventeen ſhips of the line, and three frigates, moored in the harbour; that the place was well furniſhed with ammunition, proviſion, and every kind of military ſtores; and that the enemy wiſhed for nothing more than an attack, which, it was probable, would terminate in the defeat of the aſſailants, and the ruin of the Britiſh

affairs

affairs in America. The commanders at Hallifax were fully convinced of the bad effects of a miscarriage: it was therefore almost unanimously resolved to delay the expedition till some more convenient opportunity, especially as the season was now far advanced; a circumstance, which it was thought, was, of itself, sufficient to frustrate their endeavours, and render the enterprize abortive.

This seems, indeed, to have been the most prudent resolution, that could then have been adopted, whatever constructions might be afterwards put upon it, with intention to prejudice the public against the commander in chief. Lord Loudon's departure from New York, with all the forces he was able to assemble, afforded the marquis de Montcalm the finest opportunity of improving the successes of the former campaign. That general had, in the very beginning of the war, made three different attacks on Fort-William-Henry, in all of which he was repulsed by the vigour and resolution of the garrison.

But his disappointment here was compensated by an advantage obtained by a party of regulars and Indians at Ticonderoga. Colonel John Parker, with a detachment of near four hundred men, went by water, in

whale

whale and bay boats, to attack the enemy's advanced guard at that place. Landing at night on an island, he sent immediately to the main land three boats, which the enemy way-laid and took. Having procured from the prisoners the necessary intelligence of the colonel's designs, they concerted their measures, placed three hundred men in ambush behind the point where he proposed landing, and sent three battoes to the place of rendezvous. Colonel Parker, mistaking these for his own boats, eagerly put to shore, was surrounded by the enemy, now reinforced with four hundred men, and attacked with such impetuosity, that, of the whole detachment, only two officers and seventy private men escaped.

Elated with this success, animated by the absence of the British commander in chief, then at Hallifax, and fired with a desire to revenge the disgrace he had lately sustained before Fort Henry, Montcalm assembled all his forces, with a design to renew the siege of that place. Fort William-Henry is situated on the southern coast of Lake George. It was built with a view to protect and secure the frontiers of the English colonies, as well as to command the lake. The fortifications were good, defended by a garrison of near three thousand men, and covered by an army

my of four thousand, under the conduct of general Webb, posted at no great distance. When the marquis de Montcalm had collected all his forces from Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent posts, together with a considerable body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in the whole to near ten thousand men, he advanced directly to the fort, made his approaches, and with a good train of artillery began playing on the garrison.

On the first day of the siege he sent a letter to colonel Monro, telling him, he thought himself obliged, in humanity, to desire he would surrender the fort, and not provoke the great number of savages in the French army by a vain resistance. "A detachment of your garrison has lately, says he, experienced their cruelty: I have it yet in my power to restrain them, and oblige them to observe a capitulation, as none of them hitherto are killed; which will not be in my power in other circumstances. Your persisting in the defence of your fort can only retard its fate a few days, and must of necessity expose an unfortunate garrison, who can possibly receive no relief, considering the precautions taken to prevent it. I demand a decisive answer, for which purpose I have sent the sieur Funtbrune, one of my aid de-

camps.

camps. You may credit what he will inform you of, from Montcalm."

Had general Webb acted with that prudence and circumſpection, which became his ſtation, he would probably have diſappointed the deſigns of the enemy. Had he reinforced his troops with the militia of the country, and marched againſt Montcalm, he would either have obliged him to abandon the attempt, or, at leaſt, have rendered his ſucceſs very doubtful and precarious. But he beheld his preparations with an indifference and ſecurity bordering on infatuation.

The enemy, meeting with no diſturbance from the quarter they moſt dreaded, proſecuted the ſiege with vigour, and were warmly received by the garriſon, who fired with great ſpirit, till they had burſt almoſt all their cannon, and ſpent their ammunition. Neither Montcalm's promiſes or threats could prevail upon them to ſurrender, while they were in any condition to defend themſelves, or could reaſonably expect aſſiſtance from general Webb. They even perſiſted to hold out after prudence dictated the neceſſity of ſurrendering.

Colonel Monro was ſenſible of the importance of his charge, and imagined, that general Webb, though ſlow in his motions, would

would surely make some vigorous efforts either to raise the siege, or force a supply of ammunition, provision, and other necessaries into the garrison. At length, after sustaining a siege from the third to the ninth day of August, he found himself obliged to hang out a flag of truce, which was immediately answered by the French commander. Hostages were exchanged, and articles of capitulation signed by both parties.

It was agreed, that the garrison of Fort William-Henry, and the troops in the retrenched camp, should march out with their arms, the baggage of the officers and soldiers, and all the usual necessaries of war; escorted by a detachment of French troops, or interpreters attached to the savages: that the gate of the fort should be delivered to the troops of the most Christian king, immediately after signing the capitulation; and the retrenched camp, on the departure of the British forces: that the artillery, warlike stores, provision, and in general every thing, except the effects of the soldiers and officers, should, upon honour, be delivered to the French troops: that the garrison of the fort, the troops in the retrenchment, and dependencies, should not serve for the space of eighteen months, from the date of the capitulation, against his most Christian majesty,

majesty, or his allies: that with the capitulation there should be delivered an exact state of the troops, specifying the names of the officers, engineers, artilleristsi, commissaries, and all employed: that the officers and soldiers, Canadians, women, and savages, made prisoners by land since the commencement of the war in North America, be delivered in the space of three months at Carrilon; in return for which an equal number of the garrison of Fort William should be capaciated to serve; agreeable to the return given by the English officer, and the receipt of the French commanding officers, of the prisoners so delivered: that an officer should remain as an hostage, till the safe return of the escorte sent with the troops of his Britannic majesty: that the sick and wounded, not in a condition to be transported to Fort Edward, should remain under the protection of the marquis de Montcalm; who engaged to use them with tenderness and humanity, and to return them as soon as recovered: that provision for two days should be issued out for the British troops: and that, in testimony of his esteem and respect for colonel Monro and his garrison, on account of their gallant defence, the marquis de Montcalm should return one cannon, a six pounder.

Whether the marquis de Montcalm was really desirous to have these articles punctually observed, we cannot pretend to determine; certain it is, they they were perfidiously broke, in almost every instance. The savages, in the French interest, either paid no regard to the capitulation, or were permitted, from views of policy, to act the most treacherous, cruel, and inhuman part. They fell upon the British troops as they marched out, despoiled them of their few remaining effects, dragged the Indians in the English service out of their ranks, scalping, tomahawking, and again acting the tragedy at Oswego, with a thousand additional circumstances of barbarity. The throats of many women, we are told, were cut, their bodies ript open, bowels torn out, and insultingly thrown in their faces, with such savage marks of rage and cruelty, as, for the sake of humanity, ought to be discredited.

Will posterity believe, that two thousand Britons, with arms in their hands, could be tame spectators of these and more shocking barbarities? That they would permit a rabble of brutal savages to seize infants and children by the heels, and wantonly dash out their brains against trees and stones! Yet were these, and other enormities, equal-

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ly disgraceful to humanity, committed in sight of the French and British forces, if we may credit the testimony of credible witnesses. However, the greatest part of the British garrison got safe, though in a miserable condition, to Fort Edward, after being pursued for seven miles by the Indians; and the rest, flying for protection to the marquis de Montcalm, were by him sent home. A little time after the enemy demolished the fort, carried off the effects, provision, artillery, and every thing else left by the garrison, together with the vessels preserved in the lake, and departed, without taking any steps to improve their advantage.

Thus ended the third campaign in America, where, with a clear superiority over the enemy, an army of twenty thousand regular troops, a great number of provincial forces, and a prodigious naval power, not less than twenty ships of the line, we abandoned our allies, exposed our people, suffered them to be cruelly butchered in sight of our troops, and relinquished a large and valuable tract of country, to the eternal disgrace of those, who then commanded the armies and directed the councils of Great-Britain.

As to the naval transactions in this country, though less infamous, they were not more successful. Lord Loudon had no sooner departed from Hallifax, than admiral Holbourn, now freed from the care of the transports, set sail for Louisbourg, with fifteen ships of the line, one ship of fifty guns, three small frigates, and a fire-ship. What was his intention in making this cruize, it is not easy to determine. Some imagined curiosity was his sole motive, and the desire of informing himself with certainty of the enemy's strength; while others believed he was in hopes of drawing M. de la Mothe to an engagement, notwithstanding his superiority in number of ships and weight of metal.

Whatever be in this, the British squadron arrived off Louisbourg on the twentieth day of August; and approaching within two miles of the batteries, saw the French admiral make the signal to unmoor. Mr. Holbourn was greatly inferior in strength; and it is evident, that his design was not to fight the enemy, as he immediately made the best of his way to Hallifax. About the middle of September, being reinforced with four ships of the line, he again proceeded to Louisbourg, probably with intention, if possible, to draw the enemy to an engagement; but he found de la Mothe too prudent

dent to hazard an unneceſſary battle, the loſs of which might have been attended with the moſt fatal conſequences.

Here the Engliſh ſquadron continued cruizing until the twenty fifth, when they were overtaken by a terrible ſtorm from the ſouthward. When the hurricane began the fleet was about forty leagues diſtant from Louiſbourg; but was driven in twelve hours within two miles of the rocks and breakers on that coaſt. Here the wind providentially ſhifting, ſaved the whole ſquadron, except the Tilbury, which was ſhipwrecked upon the rocks, and half her crew drowned. Eleven ſhips were diſmaſted; others threw ther guns over board; and all returned in a very ſhattered condition to England, at a very unfavourable ſeaſon of the year.

Such was the concluſion of the expedition to Louiſbourg, more unfortunate to the nation than the preceding attempts upon Rocheſort; leſs diſgraceſul to the commanders, but equally the ſubject of ridicule and triumph to our enemies.

In the Eaſt Indies our affairs were conducted with greater ſpirit and ſucceſs. Here the commanders acted with that harmony, reſolution, and prudence, which became Britons, who were jealous of the honour,

and anxious for the interest of their king and country. We have already observed, that admiral Watson and colonel Clive had set out on an expedition to Calcutta, to revenge the cruel tragedy acted upon their countrymen the preceding year. On the thirty-first of January the admiral with two ships appeared before the town, and was received by a brisk fire from the batteries. This salute was returned with so much briskness, that the enemy's guns were soon silenced; and in less than two hours the place and fort were abandoned.

Colonel Clive, on the other side, laid siege to the town, and made his attack with that vigour and intrepidity peculiar to himself, which greatly contributed to the sudden reduction of the place. As soon as the fort was surrendered, the brave and active captain Coote, with his majesty's troops, took possession, and found ninety-one pieces of cannon, four mortars, abundance of ammunition, stores, and provisions, with every requisite for making an obstinate defence.

Thus the English were re-established in the two strongest fortresses on the Ganges, with the inconsiderable loss of nine seamen and three soldiers. A few days after, Hughly, a city of great trade, situated higher up the river, was reduced with as little diffi-

difficulty, but infinitely greater prejudice to the Nabob, as here his storehouses of salt, and vast magazines for the support of his army, were burnt and destroyed.

Incensed at the almost instantaneous loss of all his conquests, and demolition of the city of Hughly, the Nabob collected an army of ten thousand horse and twelve thousand foot, fully determined to expel the English out of his dominions, and take ample vengeance for the disgraces he had lately sustained. He was seen marching by the English camp in his way to Calcutta on the second of February, where he encamped, about a mile from the town. Colonel Clive made immediate application to the admiral for a reinforcement; and six hundred men, under the command of captain Warwick, were accordingly draughted from the different ships, and sent to his assistance. Clive having formed his troops into three columns, advanced with such vigour and intrepidity, that the viceroy retreated, after a feeble resistance, with the loss of a thousand men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, five hundred horses, great numbers of draught bullocks, and four elephants.

Though this action was less decisive than could have been wished, yet did it so much intimidate the Nabob, that he agreed to con-

concessions, which were equally honourable and advantageous to the company. He promised not to disturb the English in any of those privileges or possessions specified in the phirmand granted by the Mogul: that all merchandize belonging to the company should pass and repass in every part of the province of Bengal, free of duty: that all the English factories seized the preceding year, or since, should be restored, with the money, goods, and effects appertaining: that all damages sustained by the English should be repaired, and their losses repaid: that the English should have liberty to fortify Calcutta, in whatever manner they thought proper, without interruption: that they should have the liberty of coining all the gold and bullion they imported, which should pass current in the province: that he would remain in strict friendship and alliance with the English; use his utmost endeavours to heal the late divisions; and restore the former good understanding between them: and all these articles were solemnly signed and sealed, with the Nabob's own hand.

Such were the terms obtained for the company by the spirited and gallant conduct of the two English commanders. They had, however, too much prudence to confide

fide in the promiſes of a barbarian, who had ſo perfidiouſly violated former engagements; but they wiſely diſſembled their ſentiments, until they had thoroughly reeſtabliſhed the affairs of the company, and humbled the French power in this province. The chief object of their deſigns was the conqueſt of Chandenagore, a French ſettlement, higher up the river than Calcutta, of conſiderable ſtrength, and the chief in importance of any poſſeſſed by that nation in the bay.

Colonel Clive, being reinforced by three hundred men from Bombay, began his march to Chandenagore, at the head of ſeven hundred Europeans and one thouſand ſix hundred Indians, where, on his firſt arrival, he made himſelf maſter of all the out poſts, except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he left to be ſilenced by the admiral. On the eighteenth of March the admirals Watſon and Pocock arrived within two miles of the French ſettlement, with the Kent, Tiger, and Saliſbury men of war; and found the paſſage of the river obſtructed by booms laid acroſs, and ſeveral veſſels ſunk in the channel.

Theſe difficulties being removed, they advanced early on the twenty-fourth, and drew

drew up in a line before the fort, which they battered with great fury for three hours; while colonel Clive was making his approaches on the land-side, and playing vigorously from the batteries he had erected. This double attack soon obliged the enemy to submission. A flag of truce was waved over the walls, and the garrison surrendered by capitulation. The keys were delivered to captain Latham of the Tiger, and in the afternoon colonel Clive with the king's troops entered the place. Thus the reduction of a strong fortress, garrisoned by five hundred Europeans, and seven hundred Indians, defended by one hundred and eighty-three pieces of cannon, and three mortars, well provided with all kinds of stores and necessaries, and of very great importance to the enemy's commerce in India, was accomplished with a loss not exceeding forty men on the side of the conquerors.

By the treaty of capitulation the director, counsellors, and inferior servants of the settlement, were allowed to depart with their wearing apparel: the Jesuits were permitted to take away their church ornaments, and the natives to remain in the full possession of their liberties; but the garrison were to continue prisoners of war. The goods and money found in the place were con-

considerable; but the principal advantage arose from the ruin of the chief settlement of the enemy on the Ganges, which could not but be prejudicial to the English commerce in those parts.

The British commanders had been hitherto successful in all their operations, because they acted with foresight and unanimity; and executed their plans with that vigour and spirit which have deservedly raised them high in the esteem of their country. They reduced the Nabob to reasonable terms of accommodation, before they alarmed the French; and now, when the power of the latter was destroyed, they entered upon measures to oblige the treacherous viceroy to a strict performance of the treaty he had so lately signed.

However specious his promises were, they found him extremely dilatory in the execution of several articles of the treaty, which, in effect, was the same to the English commerce as if none had been concluded. The company's goods were subjected to high duties, and several other infractions of the peace committed, upon such frivolous pretences as evidently shewed that he would not fail to come to an open rupture as soon as his projects were brought to maturity. As renewing hostilities against so power-

powerful a prince was in itself dangerous, and, if possible, to be avoided, the affair was laid before the council of Calcutta, and examined with all the care and circumspection necessary in a matter on which depended the fate of the whole trade of Bengal.

During these deliberations a most fortunate incident happened that soon determined the council what course to pursue. The leading persons in the Nabob's court found themselves oppresse by his haughtiness and insolence. The same spirit of discontent appeared among the principal officers of his army: they were well acquainted with his perfidy, saw his preparations for war, and were sensible that the peace of the country could never be restored, unless either the English were expelled, or the Nabob deposed.

In consequence a plan was concerted for divesting him of all his power; and the conspiracy was conducted by Jaffier Ali Cawn, his prime minister and chief commander, a nobleman of great influence and authority in the province. The project was communicated by Ali Cawn to Mr. Watts, second in council at Calcutta, and so improved by the address of that gentleman as in a manner to insure success. When

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the plan was fully concerted between the disaffected Indians and the council, colonel Clive was ordered to take the field with his little army. Admiral Watson undertook the defence of Chandenagore, and the garrison was detached to reinforce the colonel, together with fifty seamen, to be employed as gunners, and in directing the artillery.

On the nineteenth of June a detachment was sent to attack Catwa fort and town, situated on that branch of the river which forms the island Cassimbuzar. This place surrendered at the first summons; and here the colonel halted with the army for three days, expecting advices from Ali Cawn. Disappointed of the hoped for intelligence, he passed the river on the twenty second; and the same day attacked the viceroy at the head of twenty-thousand men with his own forces only, Ali Cawn declining as yet to declare himself. After a short contest the enemy were entirely routed, the Nabob's camp, baggage, and fifty pieces of cannon taken, and a most complete victory obtained. The colonel, improving his advantage, advanced to Muxadavat, the capital of the province, and was there joined by Ali Cawn and the other mal-contents.

It had been before concerted, that this nobleman should be invested with the dig-

nity of Nabob: accordingly the colonel proceeded solemnly to depose the Suraja Dowla, and, with the same ceremony, to substitute Ali Cawn in his room, who was publickly acknowledged by the people as subah, or viceroy of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa. Soon after the deposed Nabob was taken, and put to death by his successor, who faithfully performed all the conditions of the treaty. He bestowed on his allies such liberal rewards, and granted the company so extraordinary privileges, as fully demonstrated his attachment to their interest.

By this alliance, and the reduction of Chandenagore, the French were intirely deprived of the commerce of Bengal and its dependencies; the trade of the English company was re-established, and increased beyond the most sanguine expectations; a new ally was acquired, whose interest obliged him to remain firm to his engagements; above two millions sterling paid to the company and the sufferers at Calcutta, to indemnify their losses; the soldiers and seamen gratified with the sum of six hundred thousand pounds, as a reward for the courage and intrepidity they had exerted; and a variety of other advantages gained, which it would be unnecessary to mention. In a word,

word, in the ſpace of thirteen days a great revolution was effected, and the government of a vaſt country, ſuperior in wealth, fertility, extent, and number of inhabitants, to moſt European kingdoms, transferred from one family to another, by a handful of troops, conducted by an officer untutored in the art of war, and a general rather by inſtinct than inſtruction and experience.

But the public joy at theſe ſignal advantages was, nevertheleſs, in ſome meaſure, diminiſhed by the death of admiral Watſon, and the loſs of Vizagapatam, an Engliſh ſettlement on the coaſt of Coromandel. The admiral fell a victim to the unwholeſomeneſs of the climate on the ſixteenth of Auguſt, univerſally eſteemed and regretted; and the factory and fort at Vizagapatam were taken by the French, a few days after the defeat of the Nabob.

Having given this ſuccinct, but, we hope, ſatisfactory view of affairs in the Eaſt-Indies, we now turn our eyes to the continent of Europe, where we ſee the beginning of the year marked with a ſtriking inſtance of the dreadful effects of frantic enthuſiaſm. The fatal conſequences of this furious paſſion have been ſeverely felt in every age and country, in which they have appeared. When once the over heated imagi-

nation of a pious madman has represented to him splendid ideas of the most atrocious enterprize, in order to serve the cause, which his pious phrenzy has embraced, it is no wonder, if, in the ferment of his brain, he despises all pain and peril, and thinks it glorious to die in excruciating tortures, even though he should fail in the execution of the horrid deed. The attempt, he thinks, is sufficiently glorious, though not crowned with success. Of all sorts of madness this appears to be the worst; for, whereas the generality of madmen reason right from wrong principles, these people are, for the most part, wrong both in their fundamentals and in their deductions from them; representing murder, poison, gunpowder-plots, as innocent under the mask of religion. Hence the enterprize of the Friar, who murdered Henry the third of France: hence Ravilliac stabbed Henry the fourth; and hence another assassin, in the beginning of this year, made an execrable attempt upon Lewis the fifteenth.

The name of this fanatic was Robert Francis Damien, born in the suburb of St. Catherine, in the city of Arras. He was, at the time of attempting to commit the crime, forty-two years of age. He had lived in the service of several families, whence

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he was generally dismissed on account of the impatience, the melancholy, and sullenness of his disposition. So humble was the station of a person, who was resolved to step forth from obscurity, and, by his crimes, draw upon himself the attention of all Europe!

On the fifth day of January, as the king was stepping into his coach, to return to Trianon, whence he had that day come to Versailles, Damien, mingling among his attendants, stabbed him with a knife on the right side, between the fourth and fifth ribs. Immediately his majesty, applying his hand to his side, cried out, "I am wounded! Seize him; but do not hurt him." A vein was opened, the wound dressed, and happily found not dangerous; as the knife, taking an oblique direction, missed the vital parts. However, as there remained suspicion that it might have been poisoned, several experiments were made upon animals, all of which served to relieve the people from their apprehensions.

As for Damien, he made no attempts to escape; but suffering himself quietly to be seized, was carried to the guard room, where being interrogated if he committed the horrid action, he boldly answered in the affirmative. A process against him was instantly

commenced at Versailles: many persons, supposing accessaries to the design upon the king's life, were sent to the Bastile; the assassin himself put to the torture, and the most excruciating torments applied, with intention to extort a confession of the reasons that could induce him to so execrable an attempt upon his sovereign. Incisions were made into the muscular parts of his legs, arms, and thighs, into which boiling oil was poured. Every species of cruelty, that human invention could devise, was practised without effect: nothing could overcome his obstinacy; and his silence was construed into a presumption, that he must have had accomplices in the plot.

To render his punishment more public and conspicuous, he was conveyed to Paris, there to undergo a repetition of all his former tortures, with such additional circumstances as the most fertile and cruel dispositions could contrive for increasing his misery and torment. Being conducted to the Concergerie, an iron bed, which likewise served for a chair, was prepared for him, and to this he was fastened with chains. The torture again was applied, and a physician ordered to attend, to see what degree of pain he could endure. Nothing, however, material was extorted; for what he

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one moment confessed, he denied the next.

It is equally foreign to our purpose, and contrary to our inclination, to relate all the circumstances of this cruel and tragical event. Suffice it to say, that, after suffering the most exquisite torments that human wit could invent, or human nature support, his judges thought proper to terminate his misery by a death shocking to imagination, and shameful to humanity. On the twenty-eighth day of March he was conducted, amidst a vast concourse of the populace, to the Greve, the common place of execution, stripped naked, and fastened to the scaffold by iron gyves. One of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming sulphur; his thighs, legs, and arms torn with red-hot pinchers; boiling oil, melted lead, rosin, and sulphur, were poured into the wounds; tight ligatures tied round his limbs, to prepare him for dismemberment; young and vigorous horses applied to the draught, and the unhappy criminal pulled with all their force to the utmost extension of his sinews for the space of an hour, during all which time he preserved his senses and constancy.

At length the physician and surgeon, attending, declared it would be impossible to accom-

accomplish the dismemberment, unless the tendons were separated; upon which orders were given to the executioner to cut the sinews at the joints of the arms and legs. The horses drew a fresh; a thigh and arm were separated, and, after several pulls, the unfortunate culprit expired under the extremity of pain. His body and limbs were reduced to ashes under the scaffold; his father, wife, daughter, and family, banished the kingdom for ever; the name of Damien effaced and obliterated, and the innocent involved in the punishment of the guilty.

Thus ended the cruel procedure against Damien and his family, in a manner not very favourable to the avowed clemency of Lewis, or the pretended humanity of the French nation, it appeared, from undoubted evidence, and incontestable proofs, that the attempt on the king's life was the result of insanity, and a disturbed imagination. Several instances of a disordered mind, had been before observed, and the detestation justly due to the enormity of his crime ought now to have been absorbed in the consideration of his misfortune, the greatest that can befal human nature. He was, in fact, rather an object of the deepest compassion, than of those infernal tortures; in applying which they seemed to forget that he was a fellow crea-

creature, labouring under an infirmity dreadful in itself, unavoidable, and that might possibly be the lot of any among his punishers

Lewis had no sooner recovered, than in order the more effectually to fulfill his engagements with the Empress-queen, he raised two great armies; the first of which, composed of near eight ythousand men, the flower of the French troops, with a large train of artillery, was commanded by M. d'Etrées, a general of great reputation; under whom served M. de Contades, M. Chevert, and the count de St. Germain, all officers of high character.

This formidable army crossed the Rhine early in the spring, and marched by Westphalia, in order to invade the king of Prussia's dominions in quality of allies to the queen of Hungary, and guardians of the liberties of the empire, and with no other intention as was pretended; but in reality with a view to reduce Hanover also; the French imagining that the same blow, by which they hoped to crush the king of Prussia, might likewise force his Britannic majesty into some concessions with regard to America.

The other army of the French, commanded by the prince de Soubise, was destined to

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join the Imperial army of execution, twenty-five thousand men, besides six thousand Bavarians, and four thousand Wirtembergers. But before these troops under Soubise passed the Rhine, they took possession of several places belonging to the king of Prussia upon the borders of the Low Countries; whilst a detachment from d'Etrées's army seized upon the town of Embden, and whatever else belonged to the same monarch in East-Friesland.

At the end of the last campaign, the king of Prussia, having gained a considerable advantage over the Imperialists under the command of mareschal Brown, and incorporated into his own troops a great part of the Saxon army taken prisoners at Pirna, retired into winter quarters until the season should permit him to resume his operations. His majesty and mareschal Keith wintered in Saxony, having their cantonments between Pirna and the frontier along the Elbe; and mareschal Schwerin, returning into Silesia, took up his quarters in the county of Glatz.

In the mean time, the Empress-queen finding, that the force, which she had prepared against the king of Prussia, was not sufficient to defeat his designs, made immediate application to her allies for the auxili-

aries

aries they had promised to furnish. In consequence of this application, the Czarina, true to her engagements, dispatched an hundred and thirty thousand of her troops, who began their march in the month of November, and advanced to the borders of Lithuania, with a view particularly to invade the Ducal Prussia, whilst a strong fleet was equipped in the Baltic to act in concert with this numerons army.

The Austrian army, assembled in Bohemia, consisted of upwards of a hundred thousand men, conducted by prince Charles of Lorrain and marechal Brown. The Swedes had not yet openly declared themselves; but it was generally believed, that, though their king was allied in blood and inclination to his Prussian majesty, the jealousy, which the senate of Sweden entertained of their sovereign, and the hope of recovering their ancient possessions in Pomerania, by means of the present troubles, together with their old attachment to France, newly strengthened by intrigues and subsidies, would certainly induce them to accede to the general confederacy. The duke of Mecklenbourg embraced the same party, and engaged to join the Swedish army, when it should be assembled, with six thousand men.

Besides

Besides all these preparations against the king of Prussia, he was, in his quality of elector of Brandenbourg, put under the ban of the Empire by the aulic council; formally deprived of all his rights, privileges, and prerogatives; his fiefs escheated into the exchequer of the Empire; and all the circles accordingly ordered to furnish their respective quotas for carrying this sentence into execution.

In this dangerous situation, thus menaced on all sides, and seemingly on the very brink of inevitable ruin, the Prussian monarch owed his preservation to those astonishing abilities which will render him the admiration of all future ages. The Russians, conscious that the country through which they were to pass in their way to Lithuania, would not be able to feed their prodigious numbers, had taken care to furnish themselves with provisions for their march thither, depending upon the resources they expected to find in Lithuania after their arrival there.

These provisions were exhausted by the time they reached the borders of that province, where they found themselves suddenly and unexpectedly destitute of subsistence, either to return back or to proceed forward; the king of Prussia having, with great

great prudence and foresight, secured plenty to himself, and distress and famine to his enemies, by buying up all the corn and forage of the country which these last were entering. However, notwithstanding these precautions, his Prussian majesty, to guard as much as possible against every cross event, sent a great number of gunners and matrosses from Pomerania to Memel, with three regiments of his troops, to strengthen the garrison of that place.

At the same time he gave such orders for preserving the peace of Dresden, that, though it was the capital of an enemy's country, and all the inhabitants wished ill to his interest, it enjoyed the utmost quiet; the Prussian troops behaving with the greatest regularity, and the king himself immediately redressing, in person, every grievance, of which the least complaint was made*.

* Among many instances of his particular attention, we shall mention only the following. Ten of his life-guards being billeted upon a burgher of Dresden, were placed in the third story, which they resented, telling the man, that at Potsdam they were always lodged in the first floor; and threatened to turn him out of his apartment, and take possession of it for themselves. The burgher immediately presented

Leaving nothing to others but the execution of his commands, he examined every thing with his own eyes. In six days, he visited all the posts, which his troops occupied in Silesia, gave the necessary orders for their security, and went to Neiss, where he concerted with mareschal Schwerin the general plan of operations for the ensuing campaign; and particularly, that the mareschal's army in Silesia, which amounted to fifty thousand men, should have in constant view the motions of the royal army, by which its own were to be regulated, that, in case of necessity, they might mutually aid and assist each other. At the same time, other armies were formed by his Prussian majesty in Lusatia and Voigtland; twenty thousand men were collected at Zwickaw, on the frontiers of Bohemia, towards Egra, under the command of prince Maurice of Anhalt-Dessau; and sixty thousand chosen troops began their march towards Great Zeidlitz, where their head-quarters were settled. In the mean while, the Austrian troops

sented a state of the case, in writing, to the king; who, in five minutes, returned it with this answer, written with his own hand: "Potsdam is not Dresden; Dresden is not Potsdam: my troops must be satisfied with a third story, where better accommodations are not to be had."

troops began to assemble on the frontiers of Saxony, where some of their detachments appeared, to watch the motions of the Prussians, who still continued to pursue their operations with great activity and resolution.

All possible care was taken by the Prussians at Dresden to secure a retreat, in case of a miscarriage. As only one regiment of Prussians could be spared to remain there in garrison, the burghers were disarmed, their arms deposited in the arsenal, and a detachment was posted at Konigstein, to oblige that fortress to observe a strict neutrality. All correspondence with the enemy was strictly forbid; and it having been discovered, that the countess of Ogilvie, one of the queen's maids of honour, had disobeyed his majesty's commands, she was arrested; but, on the queen's intercession, afterwards set at liberty. The countess of Bruhl, lady of the Saxon prime minister, was likewise arrested by his Prussian majesty's order; and, on her making light of her confinement, and presuming to see company, she was ordered to quit the court, and withdraw from Saxony.

M. Henwin, the French minister, was told that his presence was unnecessary at Dresden; and on his answering that his

master had commanded him to stay. he was again desired to depart; on which he thought proper to comply. The count de Waekerbath, minister of the cabinet, and grand master of the houshold to the prince royal of Poland, was arrested and conveyed to Custrin, by the express command of his majesty. The king of Prussia, having thrown two bridges over the Elbe early in the spring, ordered the several districts of the electorate of Saxony to furnish him with a great number of waggons, each drawn by four horses. The circles of Misnia and Leipsic were required to provide four hundred each, and the other circles in proportion.

While his Prussian majesty was taking these measures in Saxony, two skirmishes happened on the frontiers of Bohemia, between his troops and the Austrians. On the twentieth of February, a body of six thousand Austrians surrounded the little town of Hirschfeld in Upper Lusatia, garrisoned by a battalion of Prussian foot. The first attack was made at four in the morning, on two redoubts without the gates, each of which was defended by two field-pieces: and though the Austrians were several times repulsed, they at last made themselves masters of one of the redoubts, and carried off the two pieces of cannon. In

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their retreat they were purſued by the Pruſſians, who fell upon their rear, killed ſome, and took many priſoners: this affair coſt the Auſtrians at leaſt five hundred men.

About a fortnight after, the prince of Bevern ſet out from Zittau, with a body of near nine thouſand men, in order to deſtroy the remaining ſtrong holds poſſeſſed by the Auſtrians on the frontiers. In this expedition he took the Auſtrian magazine at Friedland in Bohemia, conſiſting of nine thouſand ſacks of meal, and great ſtore of ammunition; and, after making himſelf maſter of Reichenberg, he returned to Zittau. The van of his troops, conſiſting of a hundred and fifty huſſars of the regiment of Putkammer met a body of ſix hundred Croats, ſupported by three hundred Auſtrian dragoons of Bathiani, at their entering Bohemia; and immediately fell upon them ſword in hand, killed about fifty, took thirty horſes, and made ten dragoons priſoners. The Pruſſians, it is ſaid, did not loſe a ſingle man on this occaſion; and two ſoldiers only were ſlightly wounded, the Auſtrians having made but a ſaint reſiſtance.

Notwithſtanding the hoſtile intentions of the court of Vienna towards the allies of Great-Britain, ſhe ſtill thought proper to ſhew a due regard to the ſubjects of this

crown: for an edict was published at Florence, on the thirteenth of February, in which his Imperial majesty, as grand duke of Tuscany, declared his intention of observing the most scrupulous neutrality in the then situation of affairs. All the ports in that dutchy were accordingly required to pay a strict regard to this declaration, in all cases relating to the French or English ships in the Mediterranean.

The good effects of this injunction soon appeared; for two prizes taken by the English having put into Porto Ferraio, the captains of two French privateers audaciously addressed the governor, pretending, that they were captures of a pirate, and requesting that they might be obliged to put to sea: but the governor prudently replied, that as they came in under English colours, he would protect them; and forbid the privateers, at their peril, to commit any violence Regardless, however, of the governor's orders, they prepared for sailing, and sent their boats to cut out one of the prizes. The captain firing at their boats, killed one of their men, which alarming the centinels, notice was sent to the governor; and he, in consequence, ordered the two privateers immediately to depart.

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The conduct of the Dutch bore a very different aspect: it was tame, timid, and irresolute. Whilst his Prussian majesty was employed on the side of Bohemia and Saxony, the French auxiliaries began their march to invade his defenceless territories in the neighbourhood of the Low Countries. A free passage was demanded of the States-general through Namur and Maestricht, for the provisions, ammunition, and artillery belonging to this new army: and though the English ambassador remonstrated against their compliance, and represented it as a breach of the neutrality, which their High Mightinesses declared they would observe, yet, after some hesitation, the demand was granted; and their inability to oppose the passage of the French troops, should it be attempted by force, was alledged in excuse of their conduct.

The French army, commanded by the prince of Soubise, had no sooner entered the territories of Juliers and Cologne, than they found themselves in possession of the dutchy of Cleves and the county of Marck, where all things were abandoned to their mercy; the Prussians, who evacuated their posts, taking their route along the river Lippe, in order to join some regiments from Magdeburgh, who were sent to facilitate their

their retreat. The distressed inhabitants, thus exposed to the calamities of war, from an unprovoked enemy, were instantly required to furnish contributions, forage, and provisions, for the use of their invaders; and, what was still more alarming, the partizan Fischer, whose cruelties, during the last war, they still remembered with horror, was again let loose upon them by the inhumanity of the empress-queen.

Wesel was immediately seized by the French: Emmerick and Maseyk soon shared the same fate; and the city of Gueldres was attacked, the Prussians seeming determined to defend this last place; for which purpose they opened the sluices, and laid the country round under water. Those who retreated, filing off to the north-west of Paderborn, entered the county of Ritberg, the property of count Kaunitz Ritberg, great chancellor to the empress-queen. After taking his castle, in which they found thirty pieces of cannon, they raised contributions in the district, to the amount of forty thousand crowns. As the Prussians retired, the French took possession of the country they quitted in the name of the empress queen, whose commissary attended them for that purpose. The general rendezvous of these troops, under the prince

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de Soubiſe, was appointed at Neuſs, in the electorate of Cologne, where a large body of French was aſſembled by the firſt day of April.

The Auſtrians, in the mean time, were no leſs active. Marechal Brown viſited the fortifications of Brinn and Koningratz; reviewed the army of the late prince Picolomini, now under the command of general Serbelloni; and put his own army in motion for Koſtlitz on the Elbe, where he intended to eſtabliſh his head quarters.

During the winter, while the rigour of the ſeaſon forced the armies to ſuſpend their hoſtile operations, and the greateſt preparations were making to open the campaign with the utmoſt vigour, count Beſtucheff, great chancellor of Ruſſia, wrote a circular letter to the primate, ſenators, and miniſters of the republic of Poland, repreſenting, "That the empreſs of Ruſſia was extremely affected with the king of Poland's diſtreſs, which ſhe thought could not but excite the compaſſion of all other powers, but more eſpecially of his allies: That the fatal conſequences, which might reſult from the raſh ſtep taken by the king of Pruſſia, not only with reſpect to the tranquillity of Europe in general, but of each power in particular, and more eſpecially of the

the neighbouring countries, were so evident, that the interest and safety of the several princes rendered it absolutely necessary they should make it a common cause; not only to obtain proper satisfaction for those courts, whose dominions had been so unjustly invaded; but likewise to prescribe such bounds to the king of Prussia, as might secure them against any future apprehensions from so enterprising and restless a neighbour: That, with this view, the empress was determined to assist the king of Poland with a considerable body of troops, which were actually upon their march, under the command of general Apraxin: and that, as there would be an absolute necessity for their marching through part of the territories of Poland, her Imperial majesty hoped the republic would not fail to facilitate their march as much as possible." She likewise entreated the republic, to take some salutary measures for disappointing the designs of the king of Prussia, and restoring harmony among themselves, as the most effectual means of accomplishing these purposes.

In this, however, the Poles were so far from complying with her request, that, though sure of being sacrificed in the contest, which side soever prevailed, they divided

vided into parties, with no less zeal, than if they had as much to hope from the prevalence of one side, as to fear from that of the other. Some of the palatines were for refusing a passage to the Russians, and others were for affording them the utmost assistance in their power. With this public cause of contention, others of a more private nature unhappily concurred, by means of a misunderstanding between the prince Czatorinski and count Mnisnec. Almost every inhabitant of Warsaw was engaged in the quarrel; and the violence of these factions was so great, that scarce a night passed without bloodshed, many dead bodies, chiefly Saxons, being found in the streets every morning.

In the mean time Great Britain, unsettled in her ministry and councils at home, unsuccessful in her attempts abroad, thinking peace, if it could be procured on just and honourable terms, preferable to a continental war, proposed several expedients to the empress-queen for re-establishing the tranquillity of Germany; but her answer was, "That, whenever she perceived, that the expedients proposed would indemnify the extraordinary expences she had incurred in her own defence, as also the heavy losses sustained by her ally the king of Poland,

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and afford a proper ſecurity for their future ſafety, ſhe would be ready to give the ſame proofs ſhe had always done of her deſire to reſtore peace; but that it could not be expected ſhe ſhould liſten to expedients, of which the king of Pruſſia was to reap the whole advantage, after having begun the war, and waſted the dominions of a prince, who relied for his ſecurity upon the faith of treaties, and the deceitful appearance of a mutual harmony."

Upon the receipt of this anſwer, the court of London entreated the czarina to interpoſe as mediatrix between the courts of Vienna and Berlin; but their requeſt was rejected with ſome marks of reſentment: and upon Sir Hanbury Williams, the Britiſh ambaſſador's continuing to urge his ſolicitations very ſtrongly, and even with ſome hints of menaces, an anſwer was returned, importing to him, by order of the empreſs, "That her Imperial majeſty was aſtoniſhed at his demand, after he had already been informed of the meaſures ſhe had taken to effect a reconciliation between the courts of Vienna and Berlin: that he might eaſily conceive, as matters were then ſituated, that the earneſtneſs with which he now urged the ſame propoſition, muſt neceſſarily ſurprize her Imperial majeſty, as it

it ſhewed but little regard to her former declaration: that the empreſs, therefore, commanded his excellency to be told, that as her intentions contained in her firſt anſwer remained abſolutely invariable, no ulterior propoſitions for a mediation would be regarded: and that as for the menaces, thrown out by his excellency, and particularly, that the king of Pruſſia himſelf would ſoon attack the Ruſſian army, ſuch threatenings ſerved only to weaken the ambaſſador's propoſals; to confirm ſtill more, were it poſſible, the empreſs in her reſolutions; to juſtify them to the whole world; and to render the king of Pruſſia more inexcuſable."

The ſeaſon now approaching in which the troops of the contending powers would be able to begin hoſtilities, and a check being given to the alarming progreſs of the Ruſſians, his Pruſſian majeſty, whoſe wiſe maxim it always was to remove the ſeat of war as far as poſſible from his own dominions, determined to carry it into Bohemia, and there to attack the Auſtrians with his united force. With this view he ordered his armies in Saxony, Miſnia, Luſatia, and Sileſia, to enter Bohemia in four different and oppoſite places, much about the ſame time. The firſt of theſe was commanded by

the king in person, assisted by mareschal Keith; the second was conducted by prince Maurice of Anhault-Dessau; the third by prince Ferdinand of Brunswick-Bevern; and the fourth by mareschal Schwerin.

In pursuance of this plan, mareschal Schwerin's army entered Bohemia, on the eighteenth of April, in five columns, at as many different places. The scheme was so rapidly executed, that the Austrians had not the least suspicion of their approach till they were past the frontiers; and then they filled the dangerous defile of Gulder-Oelse with Pandours, to dispute that passage; but they were no sooner discovered, than two battalions of Prussian grenadiers attacked them with their bayonets fixed, and routed them.

The prince of Anhalt passed the frontiers from Misnia, and penetrated into Bohemia on the twenty first of April, without meeting with any resistance. The prince of Bevern, on the twentieth of the same month, advancing at the head of a body of the army, which was in Lusatia, from the quarters of cantonment near Zittau, made himself master at once of the first post on the frontiers of Bohemia, at Krottau and Graesenstein, without the loss of a single man; expelled the enemy the same day from Kratzen, and

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proceeded to Machendorf, near Reichenberg.

The ſame morning Putkammer's huſſars, who compoſed part of a body, commanded by a colonel and major, attacked ſome hundreds of the enemy's cuiraſſiers, poſted before Cohlin, under the conduct of prince Lichtenſtein, took three officers and upwards of ſixty dragoons priſoners, and ſo diſperſed the reſt, that they were not able to rally, till they arrived at Kratzen. Night coming on, obliged the troops to remain in the open air till the next morning; when, at break of day, the Pruſſians marched in two columns, by Habendorf, towards the enemy's army, conſiſting of twenty-eight thouſand men, commanded by count Konigſeg, and poſted near Reichenberg.

As ſoon as the troops were marſhalled, they advanced towards the enemy's cavalry, ranged in three lines of about thirty ſquadrons. The two wings were ſupported by the infantry, which was poſted among felled trees and intrenchments. They immediately began to play their artillery againſt the enemy's cavalry, who received it with reſolution, having on their right hand a village, and on the left a wood, where they had intrenched themſelves. But the prince of Bevern having ordered fifteen

squadrons of dragoons of the second line to advance, and the wood on his right to be attacked at the same time by the grenadiers of Kahlden and of Moellendorff, and by the regiment of the prince of Prussia, his dragoons, who, by clearing the ground and seizing the intrenchments, had their flanks covered, entirely routed the enemy's cavalry.

In the mean time colonel Putkammer and major Schenfeld, with their hussars, though flanked by the enemy's artillery, attacked the Austrian horse-grenadiers with great intrepidity; whilst general Lestewitz, with the left wing of the Prussians, made himself master of the redoubts that covered Reichenberg. Though there were many defiles and rising grounds to pass, which were all possessed by the enemy, yet the regiment of Darmstadt forced the redoubts and put to flight and pursued the enemy, after some discharges of their artillery and small arms, from one eminence to another, when they gave over the pursuit.

The action began at half an hour past six, and continued till eleven. About one thousand of the Austrians were killed and wounded: among the former were general Porporati and count Hohenfelds, and among the latter prince Lichtenstein and count Mansfeld.

feld. Twenty of their officers, and four hundred soldiers, were taken prisoners; and they also lost three standards. On the side of the Prussians seven subalterns and about an hundred men were killed, and sixteen officers and an hnndred and fifty men wounded. All the Prussian commanders behaved with uncommon bravery on this occasion; and the prince of Bevern, in particular, increased the reputation he had acquired the preceding year at the battle of Lowositz, by exhibiting fresh proofs of his skill and courage.

The king of Prussia, on receiving the news of this success, addressed himself to his regiments of guards in the following terms. "See, my boys, a most happy beginning! The prince of Bevern has defeated the Austrians at Reichenberg. This promises us, that, with God's assistance, we shall have the like success." To this address the regiment answered, with loud huzzas, "Long live the king, our incomparable sovereign!" which was immediately following by the united acclamations of the rest of the army.

After this battle mareschal Schwerin joining the prince of Bevern, made himself master of the greatest part of the circle of Buntzlau, and took a considerable magazine

from the Austrians, whom he obliged to retire. The prince of Anhault-Dessau, with his corps, drew near the king of Prussia's army; after which the latter advanced as far as Budin, whence the Austrians, who had an advantageous camp there, withdrew to Westwarn, half way between Budin and Prague: and his Prussian majesty having crossed the Egra, his army and that of mareschal Schwerin were so situated as to be able to act in conjunction.

Encouraged by this happy concurrence of circumstances, that prince resolved to avail himself of the present opportunity. Preparing to enter Bohemia, at a distance from any of the corps commanded by his generals, he made a movement as if he had proposed to march towards Egra. The enemy, deceived by this feint, and imagining he was going to execute some design, distinct from the object of his other armies, detached a body of twenty thousand men to watch his motions: whereupon he made a sudden and masterly movement to the left, by which he cut off all communication between that detachment and the main army of the Austrians, which, having been reinforced by the army in Moravia, by the remains of the corps lately defeated by the prince of Bevern, and by several regiments of the garrison

rison of Prague, amounted to near a hundred thousand men; strongly intrenched on the banks of the Moldaw, to the north of Prague, in a camp so fortified by every advantage of nature, and every contrivance of art, as to be deemed almost impregnable.

The left wing of the Austrians, thus situated, was secured by the mountains of Ziscka, and the right extended as far as Herboholi. Prince Charles of Lorrain and mareschal Brown, who commanded them seemed resolved to maintain this advantageous post; but the king of Prussia, whose intrepidity overlooked all dangers, having thrown several bridges over the Moldaw on the fifth of May, crossed that river in the morning of the sixth, with thirty thousand men, leaving the rest of the army under the command of the prince of Anhalt Dessau; and being immediately reinforced by the troops under mareschal Schwerin and the prince of Bevern, determined to attack the enemy on the same day.

In pursuance of this resolution, his army filed off on the left by Potschernitz, in order to execute this design; and at the same time count Brown wheeled to the right to avoid being flanked. The Prussians continued

nued their march to Bichwitz, passing several defiles and morasses, which for a little while separated the infantry from the rest of the army. The foot began the attack too precipitately, and were at first repulsed; but they soon found means to recover their ranks.

While the king of Prussia took the enemy in flank, mareschal Schwerin advanced to a marshy ground, which suddenly stopping his army, threatened to disconcert the whole plan of operation; upon this, he immediately alighted, and taking the standard of the regiment in his hand, boldly entered the morass, crying out, "Let all brave Prussians follow me."

Animated by the example of this great commander, now eighty two years of age, all the troops pressed eagerly forward; and, though he was unfortunately killed by the first fire, their ardour abated not till they had totally defeated the enemy. Thus fell mareschal Schwerin, loaded with years and glory; an officer whose fidelity, intrepidity, experience, and military skill, had deservedly gained him the friendship and esteem of his royal master. Quick and sagacious in discerning opportunities, cool but intrepid in action, and rapid and impetuous in executing his designs, he was equalled by

by few, and excelled by no general of the age.

In the mean time, the Prussian infantry, which had been separated in the march, having closed their ranks, renewed the attack on the enemy's right, and intirely broke it; while their cavalry, after three charges, compelled that of the Austrians to retire in great confusion, the center being at the same time totally routed. The left wing of the Prussians then advanced towards Micheley, and being there joined by the horse, renewed their attack, while the enemy were retreating hastily towards Saszawa. In the mean time, the troops on the right of the Prussian army, attacked the remains of the left wing of the Austrians, and made themselves masters of three batteries. But the behaviour of the infantry in the last attack was so courageous, as to leave little to be done by this part of the cavalry.

Prince Henry of Prussia, and the prince of Bevern, performed wonders, making themselves masters of two batteries; and prince Ferdinand of Brunswic took the left wing of the Austrians in flank, while the king with his left, and a body of cavalry, secured the passage of the Moldaw. In a word, after a very long and obstinate dispute,

pute, and many signal feats of valour on both sides, the Austrians were obliged to abandon the field of battle, leaving behind them sixty pieces of cannon, all their tents, baggage, military chest, and ammunition.

The chief fury of the attack fell upon the right wing of the Austrians; the remains of whom, to the amount of ten or twelve thousand men, fled towards Beneschau, where they afterwards assembled under M. Pretlach, general of horse. The infantry retired towards Prague, and threw themselves into that city, with their commanders, prince Charles of Lorrain and mareschal Brown; but they were greatly harrassed in their retreat, by a detachment of the Prussians under mareschal Keith.

The Prussians took, on this occasion, ten standards, and upwards of four thousand prisoners, thirty of whom were officers of distinction. Their loss amounted to about two thousand five hundred killed, and about three thousand wounded. Among the former, besides mareschal Schwerin, were general d'Amstel, the prince of Holstein-Beck, the colonels Goltze and Manstein, and lieutenant-colonel Roke. Among the latter, the generals Wenterfield, De la Motte Feuque, Hautcharmoy, Blankensee, and Plettenberg. The number of the killed

and

and wounded on the ſide of the Auſtrians, was much greater. Among theſe laſt, was mareſchal Brown, who received a wound, which, from the chagrin he ſuffered, rather than from its own nature, proved mortal ſhortly after.

The day after the battle colonel Meyer was detached with a battalion of Pruſſian pandours, and four hundred huſſars, to deſtroy a very conſiderable and valuable magazine of the Auſtrians at Pilſen; a ſervice, which he effectually performed. He alſo completed the deſtruction of ſeveral others of leſs importance; by the loſs of which, however, all poſſibility of ſubſiſtence was cut off, from any ſuccours the Auſtrians might have expected from the empire.

The Pruſſian monarch purſuing his blow, immediately inveſted Prague on both ſides of the river, himſelf commanding on one ſide, and mareſchal Keith on the other. In four days the whole city was ſurrounded with lines and intrenchments, by which all communication from without was intirely cut off: and beſides, prince Charles of Lorraine and mareſchal Brown, the two princes of Saxony, the prince of Modena, the duke d'Aremberg, count Lacy, and ſeveral other perſons of great diſtinction, were ſhut up within the walls; together with about

about forty thousand of the Austrian army, who had taken refuge in Prague after their defeat.

Every thing remained quiet on both sides, scarce a single cannon being fired for some time after this blockade was formed; and in the mean while the Prussians took possession of Czischeberg, an eminence which commands the town, where the Austrians had a strong redoubt, continuing likewise to strengthen their works. Already they they had sallied out, and taken some other ineffectual steps to recover this post; but a more decisive stroke was judged necessary.

Accordingly a design was formed of attacking the Prussian army in the night with a body of twelve thousand men, who, in case an impression could be made on the king's lines, were to be supported by all the grenadiers, volunteers, Pandours, and Hungarian infantry. It was intended to open a way, sword in hand, through the camp of the besiegers, and to ease Prague of the multitude of forces cooped up useless within its walls, serving only to consume the provisions of the garrison, and precipitate a surrender. Happily a deserter discovered the secret to his Prussian majesty, about eleven o'clock at night. Proper measures were immediately taken for the recep-

ception of the enemy, and in less than a quarter of an hour the whole army was under arms.

This design was conducted with so much silence, that, though the Prussians were apprized of it, they could discover nothing before the enemy had charged their advanced guards. The attack was begun on the side of the little town, against mareschal Keith's camp, and the left wing of the Prussian army encamped on the Moldaw. From hence it is likely the Austrians intended not only to demolish the batteries that were raising, but to destroy the bridges of communication which the Prussians had thrown over the Moldaw, at about a quarter of a German mile above and below Prague, at Branick and Podbaba.

The greatest alarm was given about two o'clock, when the enemy hoped to have come silently and unexpectedly upon the miners; but these had left work about a quarter of an hour before. At the report of the first piece which they fired, the piquet of the third battalion of Prussian guards, to the number of an hundred men, who had been out of the camp to support the body which covered the works, was thrown into some confusion, from the darkness of the

night, which prevented their distinguishing the Austrian troops from their own.

Lieutenant Jork, detached with two platoons to reconnoitre the enemy, attempted to discover their disposition by kindling a fire. Captain Rodig, by the light of this fire, perceiving the enemy's situation, immediately formed the design of attacking them in flank, and gave orders to his men to fire in platoons, which they performed, mutually repeating the signal given by their commander. The enemy fled with the greater precipitation, as they were ignorant of the weakness of the piquet, and as the shouting of the Prussian soldiers made them mistake it for a numerous body. Many of them deserted, many took shelter in Prague, and many more were driven into the river, and drowned.

At the time this attack began, a regiment of horse grenadiers fell upon a redoubt which the Prussians had formed, sustained by the Hungarian infantry: they returned three times to the charge, and were as often repulsed by the Prussians, whom they found it impossible to dislodge; though prince Ferdinand of Brunswick's battalion, which defended this post, suffered extremely. While the attack was making, the enemy kept an incessant fire with their musquetry

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upon the whole front of the Prussians, from the convent of St. Margaret to the river.

At three in the morning the Prussians quitted their camp, in order to engage the enemy. The battalion of Pannewitz attacked a building called the Redhouse, situated at the bottom of a declivity before Wellastowitz. The Pandours, who had taken possession of this house, fired upon them incessantly from all the doors and windows, until they were dislodged; and the Prussian battalions were obliged to sustain the fire, both of cannon and musquetry, for above two hours, when the enemy retired to the city.

The Pandours, however, again took possession of the Redhouse, which the Prussians were forced to abandon, because the artillery of Prague kept a continual fire upon it from the moment it was known to be in their hands. The Austrians left behind them many dead and wounded, besides deserters; and the Prussians, notwithstanding the loss of several officers and private men, made some prisoners. Prince Ferdinand, the king of Prussia's youngest brother, had a horse killed under him, and was slightly wounded in the face.

The Prussian works being compleated, and heavy artillery arrived, four batteries,

erected on the banks of the Moldaw, began to play with incredible fury. Two hundred and eighty bombs, besides an infinity of ignited balls, were thrown into the city in the space of twenty-four hours. The scene was truly lamentable; houses, men, and horses, wrapped in flames, and reduced to ashes. The confusion within, together with the want of proper artillery and ammunition, obliged the Austrians to give over firing, and furnished the besiegers with all the opportunity they could wish of pouring destruction upon this unfortunate city. The horrors of war seemed to have extinguished the principles of humanity. No regard was paid to the distress of the inhabitants: the Austrians obstinately maintained possession, and the Prussians exerted their utmost efforts to compel them to surrender.

After the conflagration had lasted three days, and consumed a prodigious number of buildings, the principal inhabitants, burghers, and clergy, perceiving their city on the point of being reduced to a heap of rubbish, and laid wholly in ashes, besought the commander, in a body, to hearken to terms; but he lent a deaf ear to their entreaties: he even hanged two of them, who were more importunate than the rest.

Nay

Nay he was ſo cruel as to drive out twelve thouſand perſons, who were deemed leaſt uſeful in defending the city.

Theſe, by order of his Pruſſian majeſty, were again forced back; which ſoon produced ſo great a ſcarcity of proviſion within the walls, that the Auſtrians were reduced to the neceſſity of eating horſe-fleſh, forty horſes being daily diſtributed to the troops, and the ſame food ſold at four-pence a pound to the inhabitants. Nevertheleſs, as there ſtill remained great abundance of corn, they were far from being brought to the laſt extremity. Two other ſallies were made with greater vigour and reſolution; but they proved as unſucceſsful as the firſt. The only advantage reſulting from them was the perpetual alarm in which they kept the Pruſſian camp, and the vigilance required to guard againſt the attacks of a numerous, reſolute, and deſperate garriſon.

However gallant the behavionr of the Auſtrians were, certain it is, that the affairs of the empreſs queen were in the moſt delicate and deſperate ſituation. Her grand armies diſperſed in parties, and flying for ſubſiſtence in ſmall corps; their princes and commanders cooped up in Prague; that capital in imminent danger of being taken; the flouriſhing kingdom of Bohemia ready

to fall into the hands of the conquerer; a considerable army on the point of surrendering prisoners of war; all the queen's hereditary dominions open and exposed; the whole fertile tract of country from Egra to the Moldaw, in the actual possession of the Prussians; the distance to the archduchy of Austria not very considerable, and secured only by the Danube; Vienna under the utmost apprehension of a siege, and the Imperial family ready to take refuge in Hungary; the Prussian forces deemed invincible, and the sanguine friends of that monarch already sharing with him, in imagination, the spoils of the ancient and illustrious house of Austria.

Such was the critical state of affairs, and such the difficulties to be encountered, when Leopold, count Daun, was appointed to the command of the Austrian forces, to stem the torrent of disgrace: and to save his mistress from utter destruction. This general, tutored by long experience, under the best officers of Europe, and the particular favourite of the great Kevenhuller, was now, for the first time, raised to act in chief, at the head of an army, on which depended the fate of Austria, and the empire. Though of a noble family, he relied solely upon his own merit: without soliciting

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court-favour, he aspired after the highest preferment, and succeeded by mere dint of superior abilities. His progress from the station of a subaltern was slow and silent: his promotion to the chief command was received with universal esteem and applause. Cautious, steady, penetrating, and sagacious, he was opposed as another Fabius to the modern Hannibal, to check the fire and impetuosity of that monarch, by slow prudence and phlegmatic circumspection.

Arriving at Boemischrod, within a few miles of Prague, the day after the late defeat, he began to collect the fugitive corps and broken remains of the Austrian army, and soon assembled a force so considerable, as to attract the attention of his Prussian majesty, who detached the prince of Bevern with twenty battalions and thirty squadrons, to attack him before numbers should render him formidable.

Daun was too prudent to give battle with dispirited shattered troops, sunk with disgrace, to an army elated with victory. He retired on the first advice of the approach of the Prussians, and took post at Kolin, where he entrenched himself in a strong camp, opened a way for the daily supply of recruits sent to his army, and inspired the garrison of Prague with fresh courage, in

expectation of being soon relieved. Here he kept close within his intrenchments, divided the Prussian forces, by obliging the king to employ near half his army in watching his designs, retarded considerably the progress of the siege, harrassed the enemy by interrupting their convoys, and restored, by degrees, the languishing and almost desponding spirits of his troops. Fully apprized of the courage and discipline of the Prussian troops, the enterprising and impetuous disposition of that monarch, and, sensible that his situation would prove irksome and embarrassing to the enemy, he improved it to the best advantage, seemed to foresee all the consequences, and directed every measure with the most consummate prudence. Thus he interrupted the enemy's operations, and assiduously avoided precipitating an action, until the Prussian vigour should be exhausted, their strength impaired by losses and desertion, the first fire and ardor of their genius extinguished by continual fatigue and incessant alarms, and the impression made on his own men, by the late defeat, in some degree effaced.

The event justified Daun's conduct. His army grew every day more numerous and resolute, while his Prussian majesty began to express the utmost uneasiness at the length of

of the ſiege. When that monarch firſt inveſted Prague, it was on the ſuppoſition, that the numerous forces within the walls would, by conſuming all the proviſion, oblige it to ſurrender in a few days; but finding that the Auſtrians had ſtill a conſiderable quantity of corn, that count Daun's army was daily encreaſing, and would ſoon be able not only to oppoſe the detachment under the prince of Bevern, but even in a condition to raiſe the ſiege, he reſolved to give the count battle with one part of his army, while he kept Prague blocked up with the other.

The Auſtrians amounted now to ſixty thouſand men, were deeply entrenched, and ſecured by a fine and prodigious train of artillery, placed on redoubts and batteries, erected on the moſt advantageous poſts. Every acceſſible part of the camp was defended by lines and heavy pieces of battering cannon, and the foot of the hills interſected difficult defiles. However ſtrong this ſituation, however formidable the Auſtrian forces, his Pruſſian majeſty undertook to diſlodge them with a body of horſe and foot, not exceeding thirty-two thouſand men.

On the thirteenth day of June he quitted the camp before Prague, eſcorted by a few battalions and ſquadrons, with which he join-

joined the prince of Bevern at Milkowitz. Mareschal Keith, it is said, strenuously opposed this measure, and advised either raising the siege entirely, and attacking the Austrians with the united forces of Prussia, or delaying the attack on the camp at Kolin, until his majesty should either gain possession of the city, or some attempts should be made to oblige him to abandon the enterprize.

From either measure an advantage would ensue. With his whole army he might probably have defeated count Daun, or at least have obliged him to retreat. Had he continued within his lines at Prague, the Austrian general could not have compelled him to raise the siege, without quitting his own advantageous situation, and giving battle upon terms nearly equal. But the king, elated with success, impetuous in his valour, and confident of the superiority of his own troops in point of discipline, thought all resistance must sink under the weight of his victorious arm, and yield to that courage which had already surmounted such difficulties, disregarded the mareschal's sage counsel, and marched up to the attack undaunted, and even assured of success.

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By the eighteenth the two armies were in sight; and his majesty found, that count Daun had not only fortified his camp with all the heavy cannon of Olmutz, but was strongly reinforced with troops from Moravia and Austria, which had joined him since the king's departure from Prague. The Austrians were drawn up in three lines upon the high grounds between Genlitz and St. John the Baptist.

Difficult as it was to approach them, the Prussian infantry marched up with firmness, amidst a continued shower of balls and bullets, and began the attack about three in the afternoon. They drove the Austrians with irresistible intrepidity from two eminences secured with heavy cannon, and two villages defended by several battalions; but, in attacking the third eminence, were flanked by the Austrian cavalry, by grape-shot poured from the batteries; and, after a violent conflict, and prodigious loss of men, thrown into confusion.

Animated by the king's presence, they rallied, and returned with double fury to the charge; but were a second time repulsed. For seven times successively did prince Ferdinand renew the attack, performing every duty of a great general and valiant soldier, tho' always with the same fortune.

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The inferiority of the Prussian infantry, the disadvantages of ground, where the cavalry could not act, the advantageous situation of the enemy, their numerous artillery, their intrenchments, numbers, and obstinacy, joined to the skill and conduct of their general; all conspired to defeat the hopes of the Prussians, to baffle their valour, and constrain them to retreat. The king then made a last and furious attack at the head of the cavalry, on the enemy's left wing; but with as little success as the former. Every effort was made, and every attempt was productive only of greater losses and misfortunes. At last, after exposing his person in the most perilous situations, after performing all that could be expected from the most consummate prudence and the most heroic valour, his Prussian majesty drew off his forces from the field of battle, retiring in such good order, in sight of the enemy, as prevented a pursuit, or the loss of his artillery and baggage.

Almost all the officers on either side behaved with uncommon bravery; and count Daun, whose conduct emulated that of his Prussian majesty, received two slight wounds, and had a horse killed under him. The losses of both armies were very considerable: on that of the Prussians, the killed

and

and wounded amounted to eight thousand: on that of the Austrians to upwards of ten thousand.

When the Prussian army arrived at Nimburg, his majesty, leaving the command with the prince of Bevern, took fresh horses, and, attended by twelve or fourteen hussars, set out for Prague, where he arrived next morning without halting, after having been the whole preceding day on horseback, and leading every attack. Immediately he gave orders for sending off all his artillery, ammunition, and baggage; which was executed with so much expedition, that the tents were struck, and the army on their march, before the garrison were informed of the king's defeat.

Thus terminated the battle of Kolin and siege of Prague, in which the unhappy errors of his Prussian majesty were more than compensated by the intrepidity of his conduct, and the candour with which he acknowledged his mistake, in the following letter addressed to the earl mareschal:

"The Imperial grenadiers, says he, are "an admirable corps: one hundred com-"panies defended a rising ground, which "my best infantry could not carry. Ferdi-"nand, who commanded them, returned "seven times to the charge; but to no

" purpose. At first he mastered a battery,
" but could not hold it. The enemy had
" the advantage of a numerous and well-
" served artillery. It did honour to Licht-
" enstein, who had the direction. Only
" the Prussian army can dispute it with him.
" My infantry were too few. All my ca-
" valry were present, and idle spectators,
" excepting a bold push by my houshold
" troops and some dragoons. Ferdinand
" attacked without powder; the enemy,
" in return, were not sparing of theirs.
" They had the advantage of a rising ground,
" of intrenchments, and of a prodigious
" artillery Several of my regiments were
" repulsed by their musquetry. Henry per-
" formed wonders. I tremble for my wor-
" thy brothers: they are too brave. For-
" tune turned her back on me this day. I
" ought to have expected it: she is a fe-
" male, and I am no gallant. In fact, I
" ought to have had more infantry.—Suc-
" cess, my dear lord, often occasions a de-
" structive confidence. Twenty-four bat-
" talions were not sufficient to dislodge six-
" ty thousand men from an advantageous
" post. Another time we will do better.
" I have no reason to complain of the brave-
" ry of my troops, or the experience of my
" officers: I alone was in fault, and I hop
" to

"to repair it. What say you of this league, "which has only the marquis of Brandenbourg for its object? The great elector "would be surprised to see his son at war "with the Russians, the Austrians, almost "all Germany, and an hundred thousand "French auxiliaries.—I know not whether "it will be disgrace in me to submit; but "I am sure there will be no glory in van-"quishing me."

Most people, indeed, imagined, that the king was highly blameable for checking the ardour of his troops, by stopping them to lay siege to Prague. They would have had him to pursue his conquests, over-run Austria, Moravia, and all the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria, from which alone the empress-queen could draw speedy succours. A body of twenty or thirty thousand men would have blocked up Prague, while the remainder of the Prussian forces might have compelled the Imperial family to take refuge in Hungary, and effectually prevented count Daun from collecting another army.

It was universally believed, he would have bent his march directly to Vienna; but he dreaded leaving the numerous army in Prague behind; and it was of great importance to finish the reduction of Bohemia. With respect to the attack at Kolin, his

majesty himself has generously given up that measure; and to this alone, perhaps, ought we to ascribe the subsequent misfortunes, and the duration of the war. However, we shall not venture to reflect upon operations in which it would be presumption in us to decide.

The prince of Prussia marched all night with his corps to Nimburg, where he joined the prince of Bevern; and mareschal Keith retreated the next day, when, mareschal Brown having died before of his wounds, prince Charles of Lorrain sallied out with a large body of the Austrians, and attacked the rear of the Prussians; but did no farther mischief than killing about two hundred of their men.

The siege of Prague being thus raised, the imprisoned Austrians received their deliver, count Daun, with inexpressible joy; and their united forces being greatly superior to those of the king of Prussia, that prince was in a short time obliged to evacuate Bohemia, and retire into Saxony. The Austrians did not fail to harrass him in his retreat: but their armies, though superior in numbers, were not in a condition, from their late sufferings, to make any effectual impression upon him, as the fron-

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tiers of Saxony abound with situations easily defended.

The rapidity of the Prussian conquests being thus checked, we shall now see the war not confined to one part of Germany only, but extending over the whole empire, which was soon involved in bloodshed and confusion.

To guard against the storm which threatened Hanover in particular, orders were transmitted thither to recruit the troops that had been sent back from England, to augment each company, to remount the cavalry with the utmost expedition; not to suffer any horses to be conveyed out of the electorate; to provide the magazines in that country with all things necessary for fifty thousand men, of which twenty six thousand were to be Hanoverians, and, in consequence of engagements entered into for that purpose, twelve thousand Hessians, six thousand Brunswickers, two thousand Saxe-Gothans, and a thousand Lunenburgers, to be joined by a considerable body of Prussians, and the whole commanded by his royal highness the duke of Cumberland.

But the justice of his Britannic majesty, though he saw his German dominions menaced by the actual march of a powerful French army towards their frontiers, would

not suffer him to bring an army into the field before he had published to the world the just motives that had compelled him to oppose force by force, and to defend himself against the invasion of his enemies by every means which God had put in his power. The declaration, or manifesto, which his majesty caused to be published on this occasion was conceived in the following terms:

"His Britannic majesty, elector of Brunswick-Lunenburg, used his utmost endeavours to prevent the war which has arisen between him, as king of Great Britain, and the crown of France, and to accommodate in an amicable manner the differences which occasioned it. When these endeavours were found to be ineffectual, he still laboured to keep the war, which he could not prevent, within narrow bounds, that it might not interrupt the tranquillity of his dominions in Germany, much less the other states of Europe, who had no concern in the quarrel.

"In consequence of this disposition, and because, in the autumn of 1755, it was become more probable than ever that France, to revenge the supposed injuries she pretended to have received from his Britannic majesty, would attack his dominions in Ger-

Germany; his majesty, in the beginning of the following year, concluded a treaty with the king of Prussia, by which he had great reason to hope his pacific designs would have been rendered effectual, as by this treaty, pursuant to the intention of it, it was probable the king of France would be disappointed in his views: and as a new war has since broken out unexpectedly, his majesty has carefully avoided taking any part in it.

"It is impossible for the dispassionate and impartial, after considering the conduct of his Britannic majesty on this occasion, not to see the injustice of all the motives and pretences of France for invading the electoral territories of Brunswick, which are under the protection of the Empire.

"If these pretences are founded upon the war which has broke out between England and France, it is easy to shew, that this war, both with respect to its causes and its ends, is entirely foreign to his majesty, as elector, and to his German dominions.

"As to the second war which has been kindled in Germany, the crown of France, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, has not the least pretence, on one hand, to act against the states before mentioned, so long as his majesty cannot be charged with

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any breach of the said peace; and, on the other, France, as an ally and auxiliary of the Empress-queen, cannot justly act against a member of the Empire, who is not at war, nor has the least difference with her Imperial majesty.

"But as France has, notwithstanding, entered the empire, on the side of Westphalia, with a numerous army, which, after having garrisoned the Imperial city of Cologne, is advancing farther and farther into the electoral states of Brunswick; as it has already entered and raised contributions in the bishopric of Munster; and as its design against the estates of his Britannic majesty in Germany is too manifest to be doubted; he is compelled, by indispensible necessity, to assemble and march an army, to avert, with the assistance of the Most High, all violence, injustice, and usurpation, from his own estates and those of his neighbours.

"To prevent the ill consequence of false and artful insinuations, his majesty has thought it highly requisite thus to declare to the whole world, that he is very far from having conceived any design to act offensively against any of the states of the Empire, or even against the crown of France; and that by the armament, and the march

of

of his troops, to which he has been compelled, he has no view or desire but to repress, by the Divine Assistance, all invasion, violence, and hostilities; and, if such should happen, to do, as a principal and original member of the Empire, what shall be just in the sight of God and man, and what he owes to the safety of the country, which the Almighty has intrusted to his care.

"He rests assured, that no person can mistake or misinterpret the justice of this self-defence, to which he is forced: and he confides particularly in the faith and friendship of his co-estates in the Empire, that they will not counteract his views in their favour, of keeping the calamities of war at a distance from their frontiers, but that they will rather facilitate and support them: that being well assured his majesty's troops will observe the most exact discipline, they will in return, give them proofs of their good will, particularly by furnishing them, for ready money, with such provisions and forage as they shall want: and lastly, that they will not furnish their enemies with these, or any other necessaries or accommodations that may be prejudicial to his majesty's dominions, or their own."

This declaration was no sooner published, than the troops of the confederate states,

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that were to compose the allied army, under the name of an army of observation, began to assemble with all possible diligence near Bielefeldt. Thither the generals, appointed to command the several divisions, repaired, to concert the plan of operations with their commander the duke of Cumberland, who, having left London on the ninth of April, arrived on the sixteenth at Hanover, and from thence set out for the army, which having been joined by three Prussian regiments that retired from Wesel, consisted of thirty-seven battalions and thirty-four squadrons.

Of these, six battalions and six squadrons were posted at Bielefeldt, under the command of lieutenant general baron de Sporcken; six battalions under lieutenant-general de Block, at Hervorden; six battallions and four squadrons under major general Ledebour, between Hervord and Minden; seven battalions and ten squadrons, under lieutenant-general d'Oberg, in the neighbourhood of Hamelen, and five battalions and four squadrons, under major-general de Hauss, near Nieuburg. The head quarters of his royal highness were at Bielefeldt.

In the mean time the French on the lower Rhine continued filing off with the utmost ex-

expedition. The ſiege of Gueldres was turned into a blockade, occaſioned by the difficulties the enemy found in raiſing batteries; and a party of Hanoverians, having croſſed the Weſer, as well to ravage the country of Paderborn as to reconnoitre the French, carried off ſeveral waggons loaded with wheat and oats, deſtined for the territories of the elector of Cologne. On the other hand, colonel Fiſcher having come up with a ſmall body of Hanoverians, in the county of Tecklenburgh, routed them, and made ſome priſoners.

After ſeveral other little ſkirmiſhes between the French and the Hanoverians, the duke of Cumberland altered the poſition of his camp, by placing it between Bielefeldt and Hervorden, in hopes of defeating the deſigns of the enemy; who, declining to attack him on the ſide of Brawede, after having reconnoitred his ſituation ſeveral days, made a motion on the left, as if they intended to get between him and the Weſer.

This was no ſooner done than, on the thirteenth of June, having received intelligence, that the enemy had cauſed a large body of troops, followed by a ſecond, to march on his right to Burghotte, he ordered his army to proceed that evening towards

wards Hervorden; and at the same time major general Hardenberg marched with four battalions of grenadiers, and a regiment of horse, and the light troops of Buckleburgh. The whole marched in two columns. The right, composed of horse, and followed by two battalions, to cover their passage through the inclosures and defiles, passed by the right of Bielefeldt; and the left, consisting of infantry, marched by the left of the same town.

The vanguard of the French army attacked the rear guard of the allies commanded by major general Einsiedel, and at first put them into some confusion; but they immediately recovered their ranks. This was in the beginning of the night. At break of day the enemy's reinforcements returned to the charge, but were again repulsed; nor could they once break through lieutenant-colonel Alfeldt's Hanoverian guards, which closed the army's march with a detachment of regular troops, and a new-raised corps of hunters.

The allies encamped at Cofeldt the fourteenth, and staid there the next day, when the enemy's detachments advanced to the gates of Hervorden, and made a feint as if they would attack the town, after having summoned it: but they retired without attempting

tempting any thing farther; and, in the mean time, the troops that were posted at Herworden, and composed the rear guard, passed the Weser, on the side of the Remen, without any molestation, and took post at Holtznysen.

A body of troops which had been left at Bielefeldt, to cover the duke's retreat, after some skirmishes with the French, rejoined the army in the environs of Herfort; and a few days after his royal highness drew near his bridges on the Weser, and sent over his artillery, baggage, and ammunition.

At the same time some detachments passed the river on the right, between Minden and Oldendorp, and marked out a new camp, advantageously situated, having the Weser in front, and the right and left covered with eminences and marshes. There the army under his royal highness reassembled; and the French fixed their head-quarters at Bielefeld, which the Hanoverians had abandoned, leaving in it only part of a magazine, which had been set on fire.

By this time the French were in such want of forage, particulary hay, that M. d'Etrées himself, the princes of the blood, and all the officers, without exception, were obliged to send back part of their horses, the better to subsist those that remained. However,

on the tenth of June, their whole army, consisting of seventy battalions and forty squadrons, with fifty-two pieces of cannon, besides a body of cavalry left at Ruremonde for the conveniency of forage, was put in motion; and, in spite of almost impassable forests, famine, and every other obstacle that could be thrown in their way by a vigilant and experienced general, at length overcame all difficulties, and arrived in a country abounding with plenty, and unused to the ravages of war.

It was imagined, that the passage of the Weser, which secures Hanover against foreign attacks, would have been vigorously disputed by the army of the allies: but whether, in the present situation of affairs, it was thought prudent to act only upon the defensive, and not to begin hostilities in a country that was not concerned as a principal in the war; or whether the duke of Cumberland found himself too weak to make head against the enemy, is a question we shall not pretend to determine. Whatever be in this, certain it is, that the whole French army passed the Weser on the tenth and eleventh of July, without the loss of a single man. The manner of effecting this passage is said to have been as follows.

Mareschal

Mareſchal d'Etrées, having received advice that his magazines of proviſions were well furniſhed, his ovens eſtabliſhed, and the artillery and pontoons arrived at the deſtined places, ordered lieutenant-general Broglio, with ten battalions, twelve ſquadrons, and ten pieces of cannon, to march to Engheren; lieutenant-general M. de Chevert, with ſixteen battalions, three brigades of carabineers, the royal hunters, and ſix hundred huſſars, to march to Hervorden; and lieutenant general marquis d'Armentieres, with twelve battalions, and ten ſquadrons, to march to Ulrickhauſen. All theſe troops being arrived in their camp on the fourth of July, halted the fifth. On the ſixth, twenty-two battalions, and thirty-two ſquadrons, under the command of the duke of Orleans, who was now arrived at the army, marched to Ulrickhauſen; from whence M. d'Armentieres had ſet out early in the morning, with the troops under his command, and by briſk marches got on the ſeventh, by eleven at night, to Blanckenhoven, where he found the boats which had gone from Ahrenſberg.

The bridges were built, the cannon planted, and the entrenchments at the head of the bridges completed, in the night be-

tween the seventh and eighth. The marescal, having sent away part of his baggage from Bielefeldt on the sixth, went in person on the seventh at eleven o'clock to Horn, and on the eighth to Braker. Hearing that M. d'Armentieres had thrown his bridges across, without opposition, and was at work on his entrenchments, he went on the ninth to Blankenhoven, to see the bridges and entrenchments; and afterwards proceeded to examine the first position he intended for his army, and came down the right side of the Weser to the abbey of Corvey, where he forded the river, with the princes of the blood, and their attendants. On the tenth in the morning he got on horseback, by four o'clock, to see the duke of Orleans's division file off, which arrived at Corvey at ten o'clock; as also that of M. d'Armentieres, which arrived at eleven; and that of M. Souvré, which arrived at noon. The marescal, having examined the course of the river, caused the bridges of pontoons to be laid within gun-shot of the abbey, where the viscount de Turenne passed that river in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-three, and where the divisions under Broglio and Chevert now passed it on the twelfth and thirteenth.

These

These two generals, being informed of what was to be done upon the Upper Weser, attacked Minden, and carried it; whilst a detachment of the French penetrated into the country of East Friesland, under the command of the marquis d'Auvel; and, after taking possession of Lier, marched on the right of the Eems to Embden, the only seaport the king of Prussia had, which at first seemed determined to make some resistance; but the inhabitants were not agreed upon the methods to be taken for that purpose.

They therefore met to deliberate; but in the mean time, their gates being shut, M. d'Auvel caused some cannon to be brought to beat them down; and the garrison, consisting of four hundred Prussians, not being strong enough to defend the town, the soldiers mutinied against their officers; in consequence of which a capitulation was agreed on, and the gates were opened to the French commander, who made his troops enter with a great deal of order, assured the magistrates that care should be taken to make them observe the most exact discipline; and published two ordinances, one for the security of the religion and commerce of the city; and the other for prohibiting the exportation of corn and

forage out of that principality. The inhabitants were, however, obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the French king.

On Sunday the 24th of July, the French, after having laid a part of the electorate of Hanover under contribution, advanced in three columns, to the village of Latford; when major-general Furstenberg, who commanded the out-posts in the village, sent an officer to inform the duke of Cumberland of it: upon which his royal highness immediately reinforced those posts with a body of troops, under the command of lieutenant-general Sporcken; but finding it impossible to defend the village, as it was commanded by the heights opposite to it, which were possessed by the enemy, and being sensible that it would be always in his power to retake it, from its situation in a bottom between two hills, he withdrew his guard from Latford.

The French then made two attacks, one at the point of the wood, and the other higher up in the same wood, opposite to the grenadiers commanded by major-general Hardenberg; but they miscarried in both: and though the fire of the artillery was very smart, they were obliged to retire. The French army encamping on the heights opposite to the duke of Cumberland's posts, together

together with the accounts he had received, that M. d'Etrées had called in all his detachments and had with him a very considerable train of artillery, left his royal highness no doubt, that the enemy intended to attack him.

He therefore resolved to remove his army to a more advantageous situation, by drawing it up on the eminence between the Weser and the woods, leaving the river Hamelen on his right, the village of Hastenbeak in his front, and his left close to the wood, at the point of which his royal highness had erected a battery of twelve pounders and haubitzers. There was a hollow way from the left of the village to the battery, and a continual morass on the other side of Hastenbeck to his right. Major-general Schulenberg, with the hunters, and two battalions of grenadiers, was posted in the corner of the wood upon the left of the battery, and his royal highness ordered the village of Hastenbeck to be cleared to his front, to prevent its being in the power of the enemy to keep possession of it, and the ways by which the allies had a communication with that village during their encampment to be broken up. In the evening his royal highness withdrew all his out-posts;

and

and in this position the army lay upon their arms all night.

On the twenty-fifth in the morning the French army advanced in columns, and began to cannonade the allies very severely, which they continued the whole day, marching and counter-marching continually, and seeming to intend three attacks, on the right, the left, and the center. In the evening their artillery appeared much superior to that of the allies. The army was again ordered to lie all night on their arms; and his royal highness caused a battery at the end of the wood to be repaired, count Schulenberg to be reinforced with a battalion of grenadiers, and two field-pieces of cannon, and that battery to be also supported by four more battalions of grenadiers, under the command of major-general Hardenberg.

His royal highness likewise caused a battery to be raised of twelve and six pounders, behind the village of Hallenbeck, and took all the precautions he could think of to give the enemy a warm reception. As soon as it was day-light he mounted on horseback to reconnoitre the enemy, whom he found in the same situation as the day before. At a little after five a very smart cannonading began against the battery behind the village,

which

which was defended by the Hessian infantry and cavalry, who stood a most severe fire with surprising steadiness and resolution. Between seven and eight the firing of small arms began on the left of the allies, when his royal highness ordered major-general Behr, with three battalions of Brunswick, to support the grenadiers in the wood, if their assistance should be wanted. The cannonading continued above six hours, during which, the troops that were exposed to it never once abated of their firmness.

The fire of the small arms on the left increased, and the French seemed to gain ground; whereupon his royal highness detached the colonels Darkenhausen and Bredenbach with three Hanoverian battalions and six squadrons round the wood by Afferde, who, towards the close of the day, drove several squadrons of the enemy back to their army, without giving them any opportunity to charge. At length the grenadiers in the wood, apprehensive of being surrounded, from the great numbers of the enemy that appeared there, and were marching round on that side, though they repulsed every thing that appeared in their front, thought it adviseable to retire nearer the left of the army, which gave the enemy an

opper-

opportunity of possessing themselves of that battery without opposition.

Here the hereditary prince of Brunswick distinguished himself at the head of a battalion of Wolfenbuttle-guards, and another of Hanoverians, who attacked and repulsed, with their bayonets, a superior force of the enemy, and regained the battery. But the French being possessed of an eminence, which commanded and flanked both the lines of the infantry and the battery of the allies, and where they were able to maintain their attack under the cover of a hill, his royal highness considering the superior numbers of the enemy, near double to his, and the impossibility of dislodging them from their post, without exposing his own troops too much, ordered a retreat; in consequence of which his army retired, first to Hamelen, where he left a garrison, then to Nienburg, and afterwards to Hoy; in the neighbourhood of which town, after sending away all the magazines, sick, and wounded, he incamped, in order to cover Bremen and Verden, and to preserve a communication with Stade, to which place the archives, and most valuable effects of Hanover had been conveyed.

In this engagement, colonel Bredenbach attacked four brigades very strongly posted, and

and defended by a battery of fourteen pieces of cannon, repulsed, and drove them down a precipice, and took all their artillery and ammunition: but preferring the care of his wounded to the carrying away of the cannon, he brought off only six, nailing up and destroy the rest. The loss of the allies, in the whole of these skirmishes, which continued three days, was three hundred and twenty-seven men killed, nine hundred and seven wounded, and two hundred and twenty missing, or taken prisoners; whilst that of the French, according to their own accounts, amounted to fifteen hundred men.

The French, being left masters of the field, soon reduced Hamelen, which was but poorly fortified, obliged the garrison to capitulate, and took out of the town sixty brass cannon, several mortars, forty ovens, part of the equipage of the duke's army, and large quantities of provisions and ammunition, which they found in it, together with a great many sick and wounded, who, not being comprehended in the capitulation, were made prisoners of war.

Mean while, mareschal d'Etrées was superseded in the command of the army by the duke de Richlieu, who is supposed to have owed his elevation to the intrigues of madame

dame de Pompadour, the French king's favourite mistress.

Immediately after the battle of Hastenbeck, the enemy sent a detachmont of four thousand men to take possession of the electorate of Hanover, and lay it under contribution, which they did without the least opposition; and also of the territories of the duke of Wolfenbuttle, as well as of many places in the dutchies of Bremen and Verden; and two days after the arrival of this new commander, the duke de Chaverese was detached with two thousand men to take possession of Hanover itself, with the title of governor of that city. He accordingly repaired thither; and upon his arrival there, the Hanoverian garrison was immediately disarmed, and left at liberty to go where they pleased.

About the same time M. de Contades, with a detachment from the French army, was sent to make himself master of the territories of Hesse-Cassel, which he effected without the least opposition; for he was met at Warberg by that prince's master of the horse, who declared, that they were ready to supply the French army with all the succours the country could afford; and accordingly the magistrates of Cassel delivered to him the keys as soon as he entered

their

their city. Gottengen was ordered by M. d'Armentiers, to get for him within a limited time, upon pain of military execution, four thousand pounds of white bread, two thousand bushels of oats, which was more than the whole country could afford, an hundred loads of hay, and other provisions.

The duke of Cumberland remained encamped in the neighbourhood of Hoy, till the twenty-fourth of August, when, upon advice that the enemy had laid two bridges over the Aller in the night, and had crossed that river with a large body of troops, he ordered his army to march, to secure the important post and passage of Rothenburg, lest they should attempt to march round on his left; and his royal highness took post that night at Hausen, having detached lieutenant-general Oberg, with eight battalions and six squadrons, to Ottersberg, to which place he advanced the next day, and encamped behind the Wummer, in a very strong situation, between Ottersberg and Rothenburg. The French entered Verden on the twenty-sixth day of August, and one of their detachments went on the twenty-ninth to Bremen, into which place they were admitted without opposition.

The duke of Cumberland, now hard preſſed on all ſides, and in danger of having his communication with Stade cut off, which the enemy was endeavouring to effect, by ſeizing upon all the poſts round him, found it neceſſary to decamp again; to abandon Rothenburg, of which the French immediately took poſſeſſion; to retreat to Selſingen, where his head-quarters were on the firſt of September; and from thence, on the third of the ſame month, to retire under the cannon of Stade.

Here it was imagined, that his army would have been able to maintain their ground between the Aller and the Elbe, till the ſeverity of the ſeaſon ſhould have obliged the enemy to go into winter quarters. Accordingly his royal highneſs, upon his taking this poſition, ſent a detachment of his forces to Buck-Schantz, with ſome artillery, and orders to defend that place to the laſt extremity: but as it could not poſſibly have held out many days, and as the French, who now hemmed him in on all ſides, by making themſelves maſters of a little fort at the mouth of the river Swinga, would have cut off his communication with the Elbe, ſo that four Engliſh men of war, then in that river, could have been of no ſervice to him; he was forced to accept of a media-

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tion offered by the king of Denmark, by his minister the count de Lynar, and to sign the famous convention of Closter-Seven*,

* As this capitulation was afterwards the subject of much dispute, on account of the infraction of it, which the French pretended the allies had committed, we shall gratify the reader with a complete view of all its contents. These were conceived in the following terms.

"His majesty the king of Denmark, touched with the distresses of the countries of Bremen and Verden, to which he has always granted his special protection; and being desirous, by preventing those countries from being any longer the threatre of war, to pare all the effusion of blood in the armies which are ready to dispute the possession thereof, hath employed his mediation by the ministry of the count de Lynar. His royal highness the duke of Cumberland, general of the army of the allies, on the one part, and his excellency the mareschal duke de Richelieu, general of the king of France's forces in Germany, on the other, have, in consideration of the intervention of his Danish majesty, respectively engaged their word of honour to the count de Lynar, to abide by the convention hereafter stipulated; and he, the count de Lynar, correspondently to the magnanimity of the king his master's intentions, obliges himself to procure the guaranty mentioned in the present convention; so that it shall be sent to him, with his full powers, which there was no time to make out, in the circumstances which hurried his departure.

Article I. Hostilities shall cease on both sides within twenty-four hours, or sooner, if possible. Orders for this pur-

by which thirty-eight thousand Hanoverians laid down their arms, and were dispersed into different quarters of cantonment.

The

purpose shall be immediately sent to the detached corps.

II. The auxiliary troops of the army of the duke of Cumberland, namely, those of Hesse, Brunswick, Saxe-Gotha, and even those of the count de la Lippe-Bukbourg, shall be sent home: and as it is necessary to settle particularly their march to their respective countries, a general officer of each nation shall be sent from the army of the allies, with whom shall be settled the route of those troops, the divisions they shall march in, their subsistence on their march, and the passports to be granted them by his excellency the duke de Richlieu to go to their own countries, where they shall be placed and distributed as shall be agreed upon between the court of France and their respective sovereigns.

III. His royal highness the duke of Cumberland obliges himself to pass the Elbe, with such part of his army as he shall not be able to place in the city of Stade: That the part of his forces which shall enter into garrison in the said city, and which it is supposed may amount to between four and six thousand men, shall remain there under the guaranty of his majesty the king of Denmark, without committing any act of hostility; nor, on the other hand, shall they be exposed to any from the French troops. In consequence thereof, commissaries, named on each side, shall agree upon the limits to be fixed round that place, for the conveniency of the garrison; which limits shall not extend beyond half a league

or

The Hanoverians being disarmed, and the whole force of the French let loose a-

or a league from the place, according to the nature of the ground or circumstances, which shall be fairly settled by the commissaries. The rest of the Hanoverian army shall go and take quarters in the country beyond the Elbe: and, to facilitate the march of those troops, his excellency the duke de Richelieu shall concert with a general-officer, sent from the Hanoverian army, the route they shall take; obliging himself to give the necessary passports and security for the free passage of them and their baggage to the places of their destination; his royal highness the duke of Cumberland reserving to himself the liberty of negotiating, between the two courts, for an extention of those quarters. As to the French troops, they shall remain in the rest of the dutchies of Bremen and Verden, till the definitive reconciliation of the two sovereigns.

IV. As the aforesaid articles are to be executed as soon as possible, the Hanoverian army, and the corps which are detached from it, particularly that which is at Buck-Schantz, and the neighbourhood, shall retire under Stade in the space of eight and forty hours. The French army shall not pass the river Oste, in the dutchy of Bremen, till the limits be regulated. It shall, besides, keep all the posts and countries of which it is in possession; and, not to retard the regulation of the limits between the two armies, commissaries shall be nominated and sent on the tenth instant to Bremenworden, by his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, and his excellency the mareschal duke de Richelieu, to regulate, as well the limits to be assigned

gainst the king of Prussia by this treaty, mareschal Richelieu immediately ordered lieu-

assigned to the French army, as those that are to be observed by the garrison at Stade, according to Art. III.

V. All the aforesaid articles shall be faithfully executed according to their form and tenor, and under the faith of his majesty the king of Denmark's guaranty, which the count de Lynar, his minister, engages to procure.

Done at the camp at Closter-Seven, Sept. 8, 1757.

Signed WILLIAM.

SEPARATE ARTICLES.

Upon the representations made by the count de Lynar, with a view to explain some dispositions made by the present convention, the following articles have been added.

I. It is the intention of his excellency the mareschal duke de Richelieu, that the allied troops of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland shall be sent back to their respective countries, according to the form mentioned in the second article; and that as to their separation and distribution in the country, it shall be regulated between the courts, those troops not being considered as prisoners of war.

II. It having been represented, that the country of Lunenberg cannot accommodate more than fifteen battalions and six squadrons, and that the city of Stade cannot absolutely contain the garrison of six thousand men allotted to it, his excellency the mareschal duke

lieutenant-genearal Berchini to march with all possible expedition, with the troops under

duke de Richelieu, being pressed by M. de Lynar, who supported this representation by the guaranty of his Danish majesty, gives his consent; and his royal highness the duke of Cumberland engages, to cause sixteen battalions and six squadrons to pass the Elbe; and the whole body of hunters, and the remaining ten battalions and twenty-eight squadrons, shall be placed in the town of Stade, and the places nearest to it that are within the line, which shall be marked by posts from the mouth of the Liche in the Elbe, to the mouth of the Elmerbeck in the river Oste: provided always, that the said ten battalions and twenty-eight squadrons shall be quartered there as they are at the time of signing this convention, and shall not be recruited under any pretext, or augmented in any case; and this clause is particularly guarantied by the count de Lynar in the name of his Danish majesty.

III. Upon the representation of his royal highness the duke of Cumberland, that the army and the detached corps cannot both retire under Stade in eight and forty hours, agreeable to the convention, his excellency the mareschal duke de Richelieu hath signified, that he will grant them proper time, provided the corps encamped at Buck-Schantz, as well as the army encamped at Bremer-worden, begin their march to retire in four and twenty hours after signing the convention. The time necessary for other arrangements, and the execution of the articles concerning the respective limits, shall be settled between lieutenant-general Sporcke, and the marquis de Villemar, first lieutenant-general of the king's army.

Done, &c.

der his command, to join the prince of Soubise: the gens-d'arms, and other troops that were in the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel, received the same order; and sixty battalions of foot, and the greatest part of the horse belonging to the French army, were commanded to invade the Prussian territories.

Mareschal Richelieu himself arrived at Brunswick on the fifteenth of September; and having, in a few days after, collected an hundred and ten battalions, and an hundred and fifty squadrons, with an hundred pieces of cannon, near Wolfenbuttle, he entered the king of Prussia's dominions with his army on the twenty seventh, twenty-eighth, and twenty-ninth of the same month, in three columns, which penetrated into Halberstadt and Brandenburg, pillaging the towns, exacting contributions, and committing many horrid enormities, at which their general was said to connive. In the mean time the duke of Cumberland set out for England, where he arrived on the eleventh of October, and shortly after resigned all his military employments.

The convention of Closter-Seven was attended with the most fatal consequences to his Prussian majesty, who was thereby not only deprived of the assistance of near forty thou-

thousand good troops, which, in the close of the campaign, might have put him upon an equality with the French and the army of the empire; but also exposed to, and actually invaded by his numerous enemies on all sides, insomuch that his situation became now more dangerous than ever; and the fate, which seemed to have threatened the empress a few months before, through his means, was now, to all appearance, turned against himself. His ruin was predicted, nor could human prudence foresee how he could extricate himself from his complicated distress; for, besides the invasion of his territories by the French under the duke de Richelieu, the Russians, who, for a long time, had proceeded but slowly, and seemed uncertain of their own resolutions, all at once quickened their march, and entered Ducal Prussia under mareschal Appraxin and general Fermor, marking their progress by every inhumanity that could be expected from an army of lawless barbarians.

A large body of Austrians entering Silesia, advanced as far as Breslau: then, turning back, they laid siege to the important fortress of Schweidnitz, the key to Silesia. Another body entered Lusatia, another quarter of the Prussian territories, and made themselves masters of Zittau. Twenty-two

thousand

thousand Swedes penetrated into Prussian Pomerania, reduced the towns of Anclam and Demmin, and laid the whole country under contribution. The army of the empire, reinforced by that of prince Soubise, was at last, after many delays, on full march to enter Saxony; and this left the Austrians at liberty to turn the greatest part of their forces to the reduction of Silesia. An Austrian general, piercing through Lusatia, passed by the Prussian armies, and suddenly presenting himself before the gates of Berlin, laid the whole country under contribution; and though he retired on the approach of a body of Prussians, he yet found means to interrupt the communication of these last with Silesia.

The Prussians, it is true, exerted themselves bravely on all sides, and their enemies fled before them; but whilst one body was repulsed, another gained upon them in some other quarter. The winter approached, their strength decayed, and their adversaries multiplied daily. Their king, harrassed, and almost exhausted with incessant fatigue both of body and of mind, was excluded from the empire. The greatest part of his dominions were either taken from him, or laid under contribution, and possessed by his enemies; who collected the

public

public revenues, fattened on the contributions, and with the riches which they drew from the electorate of Hanover, and other conquests, defrayed the expences of the war.

Whilst the king of Prussia was in Bohemia, the empress of Russia ordered notice to be given to all masters of ships, that if any of them were found assisting the Prussians, by the transportation of troops, artillery, or ammunition, they should be condemned as legal prizes: and her fleet, amounting to fifteen men of war and frigates, with two bomb-ketches, was sent to block up the Prussian ports in the Baltic, where it took several ships of that nation, which were employed in carrying provisions and merchandize from one port to another.

One of these men of war appearing before Memel, a town of Poland, but subject to Prussia, the commandant sent an officer to the captain, to enquire whether he came as a friend or an enemy; to which the Russian captain replied, that notwithstanding the dispositions of the empress of both the Russias were sufficiently known, yet he would farther explain them, by declaring, that his orders, and those of the other Russian commanders, were, in conformity to the laws

of

of war, to seize on all the Prussian vessels they met with on their cruize. Upon which the commandant of Memel immediately gave orders for pointing the cannon, to fire upon all Russian ships that should approach that place.

The land-forces of the Russians had now loitered so long on their march, that it was pretty generally doubted, by those who were thought to have the best intelligence, whether they ever were designed really to invade the Prussian territories, not only on account of their long stay on the borders of Lithuania, but also because several of their Cossacks had been severely punished for plundering the waggons of some Prussian peasants upon the frontiers of Courland, and the damage of the peasants compensated with money, tho' general Appraxin's army was at the same time greatly distressed by the want of provisions; when, on a sudden, they quickened their motions, shewed they were in earnest, and resolved to accomplish the ruin of Prussia. Their first act of hostility was the attack of Memel, which surrendered; and by the articles of capitulation it was agreed, that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, after having promised not to serve against the

Empress,

Empreſs, or any of her allies, for the ſpace of one year.

His Pruſſian majeſty, wiſely conſidering the great enormities that were to be expected from theſe ſavage enemies, who were unaccuſtomed to make war, except upon nations as barbarous as themſelves, who looked upon war only as an opportunity for plunder, and every country through which they happened to march as their's by right of conqueſt; cauſed the following declaration to be publiſhed, which is ſo full of ſentiments becoming a great prince, that the reader will not be diſpleaſed to ſee it here at length.

"It is ſufficiently known, that the king of Pruſſia, after the example of his glorious predeceſſors, has, ever ſince his acceſſion to the crown, laid it down as a maxim to ſeek the friendſhip of the Imperial court of Ruſſia, and cultivate it by every method. His Pruſſian majeſty hath had the ſatisfaction to live, for ſeveral ſucceſſive years, in the ſtricteſt harmony with the reigning Empreſs; and this happy union would be ſtill ſubſiſting, if evil minded potentates had not broke it by their ſecret machinations, and carried things to ſuch a height, that the miniſters on both ſides have been recalled, and the correſpondence broken off.

"However melancholy these circumstances might be for the king, his majesty was nevertheless most attentive to prevent any thing that might increase the alienation of the Russian court. He hath been particularly careful, during the disturbances of the war that now unhappily rages, to avoid whatever might involve him in a difference with that court, notwithstanding the great grievances he hath to alledge against it; and that it was publickly known the court of Vienna had at last drawn that of Russia into its destructive views, and made it serve as an instrument for favouring the schemes of Austria.

"His majesty hath given the whole world incontestable proofs, that he was under an indispensable necessity of having recourse to the measures he hath taken against the courts of Vienna and Saxony, who forced him, by their conduct, to take up arms for his defence. Yet, even since things have been brought to this extremity, the king hath offered to lay down his arms, if proper securities should be granted to him.

"His majesty hath not neglected to expose the artifices by which the Imperial court of Russia hath been drawn into measures so opposite to the Empress's sentiments, and which would excite the utmost indigna-

tion

tion of that great princeſs, if the truth could be placed before her without diſguiſe.

"The king did more: he ſuggeſted to her imperial majeſty ſufficient means either to excuſe her not taking any part in the preſent war, or to avoid, upon the juſteſt grounds, the execution of thoſe engagements which the court of Vienna claimed by a manifeſt abuſe of obligations, which they employed to palliate their unlawful views.

"It wholly depended upon the empreſs of Ruſſia to extinguiſh the flames of the war, without unſheathing the ſword, by purſuing the meaſures ſuggeſted by the king. This conduct would have immortalized her reign throughout all Europe It would have gained her more laſting glory, than can be acquired by the greateſt triumps.

"The king finds, with regret, that all his precautions and care to maintain peace with the Ruſſian empire are fruitleſs, and that the intrigues of his enemies have prevailed. His majeſty ſees all the conſiderations of friendſhip and good neighbourhood ſet aſide by the Imperial court of Ruſſia, as well as the obſervance of its engagements with his majeſty. He ſees that court marching its troops through the territories of

a foreign power, and contrary to the tenor of treaties, in order to attack the king in his dominions; and thus taking part in a war, in which his enemies have involved the Russian empire.

"In such circumstances, the king hath no other part to take, but to employ the power which God hath intrusted to him, in defending himself, protecting his subjects, and repelling every unjust attack.

"His majesty will never lose sight of the rules which are observed, even in the midst of war, among civilized nations. But if, contrary to all hope and expectation, these rules should be violated by the troops of Russia, if they commit in the king's territories disorders and excesses disallowed by the laws of arms, his majesty must not be blamed if he makes reprisals in Saxony; and if, instead of that good order and rigorous discipline which have hitherto been observed by his army, avoiding all sorts of violence, he finds himself forced, contrary to his inclination, to suffer the provinces and subjects of Saxony to be treated in the same manner as his own territories shall be treated.

"As to the rest, the king will soon publish to the whole world the futility of the reasons alledged by the Imperial court of Russia

Russia to justify its aggression: and as his majesty is forced upon making his defence, he has room to hope, with confidence, that the Lord of hosts will bless his righteous arms, that he will disappoint the unjust enterprizes of his enemies, and grant him his powerful assistance, to enable him to make head against them."

When the king of Prussia was put under the ban of the empire, the several princes who compose that body, were required, by a decree of the Aulic council, to furnish their respective contingents against him. Those who dreaded him looked upon this as a fair opportunity of reducing his power; and those who stood in awe of the house of Austria, were, through necessity, obliged to support that power which they feared. Besides, they were accustomed to the influence of a family, which had, for a long time, enjoyed, as it were by hereditary right, the Imperial crown; and were also intimidated by the appearance of a confederacy, the most formidable, perhaps, that had ever been formed.

Yet, notwithstanding all these circumstances, the contingents, both of men and money, were raised but slowly; the troops were badly composed; and many of those, not only of the Protestant princes, but also

of the Catholics, shewed the utmost reluctance to act against his Prussian majesty, which, indeed, none of them would have been able to do, had it not been for the assistance of the French under the prince of Soubise. The elector-palatine lost above a thousand men by desertion. Four thousand of the troops belonging to the duke of Wirtemberg, being delivered to the French commissary on the twenty-fourth of June, were immediately reviewed; but the review was scarce finished, when they began to cry aloud, that they were sold. The next morning thirty of them deserted at once, and were soon followed by parties of twenty and thirty each, who forced their way through the guards posted at the gates of Stutgard, and in the evening the mutiny became general. They fired upon the officers in the barracks, and let their commander know, that if he did not immediately withdraw, they would shoot him.

Mean while some of the officers having pursued the deserters, brought back a part of them prisoners, when the rest of the soldiers declared, that if they were not immediately released, they would set fire to the stadthouse and barracks; upon which the prisoners were set at liberty late in the evening. The next morning the soldiers assem-

assembled, and having seized some of the officers, three or four hundred of them marched out of the town at a time, with the music of the regiments playing before them; and in this manner near three thousand of them filed off, and the remainder were afterwards discharged.

The king of Prussia, upon his quitting Bohemia, after the battle of Kolin, retired, as we have already observed, towards Saxony; and having sent his heavy artillery and mortars up the Elbe to Dresden, pitched his camp on the banks of that river, at Leitmeritz, where his main army was strongly intrenched, whilst mareschal Keith, with the troops under his command, encamped on the opposite shore; a free communication being preserved between them, by means of a bridge. At the same time some parties were detached, to secure the passes into Saxony.

As this position of his Prussian majesty prevented the Austrians from entering Saxony by the way of the Elbe, they advanced by slow marches, into the circle of Buntzlau, and, at last, with a detachment, commanded by the duke d'Aremberg and M. Macguire, on the eighteenth of June, attacked suddenly, and took the important post of Gabel, situated between Boemish-

Boemish-Leypa and Zittau, after an obstinate resistance made by the Prussian garrison, under major-general Putkammer, composed of four battalions, who were, at last, obliged to surrender prisoners of war.

A body of Prussians had already been detached under the command of the prince of Prussia, to watch the motions of the Austrians; but these last having gained a march upon the former towards Lusatia, his Prussian majesty thought proper to leave Leitmeritz on the twentieth in the morning, and lay that night at Lickowitz, a village opposite to Leitmeritz, of which a battalion of his troops still kept possession, whilst the rest of his army remained encamped in the plain before that place.

The next morning, at break of day, prince Henry decamped, and conducted his retreat with so much caution, that he did not lose a single man, though he marched in sight of the whole body of Austrian irregulars. He passed the bridge at Leitmeritz, after withdrawing the battalion that was in the town, and having burnt the bridge, the whole army united, and made a small movement towards the passes of the mountains; the king then lying at Sulowitz, near the field where the battle of

Low-

Lowoſchutz was fought on the firſt of October of the preceding year.

In the afternoon the heavy baggage was ſent on before with a proper eſcorte; and in the morning of the twenty-ſecond the army marched in two columns, and encamped on the high grounds at Luſechitz, a little beyond Lenai, where it halted the twenty-third. No attack was made upon the rear-guard, though great numbers of Auſtrian huſſars, and other irregulars, had appeared the preceding night within cannon ſhot of the Pruſſian camp. On the twenty-fourth the army marched to Nellendorf; on the twenty fifth it encamped near Cotto; on the twenty-ſixth near Pirna, where it halted the next day; and on the twenty eighth it croſſed the river near that place, and entered Luſatia, where, by the end of the month, it encamped at Bautzen.

The king's army made this retreat with all the ſucceſs that could be deſired; but the corps under the prince of Pruſſia had not the ſame good fortune: for the Auſtrians, immediately after the reduction of Gabel, ſent a ſtrong detachment againſt Zittau, a trading town in the circle of Upper Saxony, where the Pruſſians had large magazines, and a garriſon of ſix battalions, and, in his ſight, attacked it with incredible

ble rage. Paying no regard to the inhabitants as being friends or allies, but determined to make themselves masters of the place before the king of Prussia could come to its relief; they no sooner arrived before it, than they bombarded and cannonaded it with such fury, that most of the garrison finding themselves unable to resist, made their escape, and carried off as much as they could of the magazines, leaving only three or four hundred men in the town, under colonel Diricke, to hold it out as long as possible; which he accordingly did, till the place was almost entirely demolished.

The cannonading began on the twenty-third of July, at eleven in the morning, and lasted till five in the evening. In this space of time four thousand balls, many of them red hot, were fired into this unfortunate city, with so little intermission that it was soon set on fire in several places. In the confusion which the conflagration produced, the Austrians entered the town, and the inhabitants imagined that they had then nothing farther to apprehend: and that their friends, the Austrians, would assist them in extinguishing the flames, and saving the place: but in this they were miserably disappointed. The Pandours and Sclavonians, who rushed in with the regular

lar troops, made no distinction between friends and foes: instead of helping to quench the flames, they began to pillage the warehouses which the fire had not consumed; so that all the valuable goods they contained, particularly linens, were either carried off or reduced to ashes.

Upwards of six hundred houses, and almost all the public buildings, the cathedrals of St. John and St. James, the orphan-house, eight parsonage houses, eight schools, the town house, and every thing contained in it, the public weigh-house, the prison, the archives, and all the other documents of the town council, the plate, and other things of value, presented to the town, from time to time, by emperors, kings, and other princes and noblemen, were entirely destroyed, and more than four hunded citizens were killed in this assault. Of the whole town there was left standing only one hundred and thirty-eight houses, two churches, the council library, and the salt-work.

The corps under the prince of Prussia, which had been forced to see the destruction of this unhappy place, without being able to prevent it, was, by the king's march to Bautzen, fortunately delivered from the danger of being surrounded by the Austri-

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ans, who, upon his majesty's approach, withdrew from their posts on the right. Soon after this the prince of Prussia, finding his health much impaired by the fatigues of the campaign, quitted the army, and returned to Berlin.

In the mean time mareschal Keith, who had been left upon the frontier to defend the passes of the mountains of Bohemia, arrived at Pirna, having been much incommoded in his march by the enemy's irregular troops, who took from him some waggons of baggage and provisions. After halting a day at Pirna, he continued his march through Dresden with twenty battalions and forty squadrons, and encamped on the right of the Elbe, before the gate of the new city, from whence he joined the king between Bautzon and Gorlitz. The Prussian army now re-united at this place, amounted to about sixty thousand men, besides twelve battalions and ten squadrons which remained in the famous camp at Pirna, under the prince of Anhalt-Dessau, to cover Dresden, secure the defiles of the mountains, and check the incursions of the Austrian irregulars, with whom, as they were continually flying about the skirts of the Prussian army, as well in their encamp-

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ments as on their marches, almost daily skirmishes happened, with various success.

Though some of these encounters were sufficiently desperate, they cost the Prussians much fewer men than they lost by desertion since the battle of Kolin. This seems to have been owing to his Prussian majesty's having recruited his army, in time of peace, from all parts of Germany; and it could hardly be expected that, in actual war, foreigners should serve with the same fidelity as natives.

It may not be improper to take notice here of some events, which could not be easily introduced before, without breaking the thread of our narration.

The Empress-queen, more enraged than ever against the king of Prussia and his allies, recalled her ministers, count Coloredo, and mons. Zohern, from London, towards the beginning of July; and about the same time count Kaunitz, great chancellor of the empire, intimated to Mr. Keith, the British minister at Vienna, that the court of London having, by the assistance it had afforded, and still continued to afford the king of Prussia, as well as by various other circumstances, violated the solemn engagements subsisting between this crown with the house of Austria, her majesty the Empress-queen

had thought proper to recal her minister from England, and consequently there was no farther occasion for Mr. Keith's residence at Vienna. In consequence of this intimation, Mr. Keith set out from the Imperial court; as did also Mr. Dayrolle, his Britannic majesty's minister at the court of Brussels, from this last place, about the latter end of July.

On the seventh of the same month general Pisa, commandant of Ostend, Nieuport, and the maritime ports of Flanders, sent his adjutant to the English vice consul at Ostend, at six o'clock in the morning, to tell him, that by orders from his court all communication with England was broke off; and desired the vice consul to order the pacquet-boats and British shipping at Ostend, Bruges, and Nieuport, to depart in twenty-four hours, and not to return into any of the ports of the empress-queen, till farther measures should be concerted; which order was immediately obeyed.

The reasons assigned by the court of Vienna, for excluding the subjects of his Britannic majesty from the use of these ports, procured for the house of Austria by the arms and treasures of Great-Britain, were, "That her Imperial majesty, the empress-"queen, could not, with indifference, see

"England,

"England, instead of giving the succours "due to her by the most solemn treaties, "enter into an alliance with her enemy the "king of Prussia, and actually afford him "all manner of assistance, assembling ar-"mies to oppose those which the most "Christian king, her ally, had sent to her "aid, and suffering privateers to exercise "open violence in her roads, under the "cannon of her ports and coasts, without "giving the least satisfaction or answer to "the complaints made on that account; and "the king of Great Britain himself, at the "very time she was offering him a neutra-"lity for Hanover, publishing by a message "to his parliament, that she had formed, "with the most Christian king, dangerous "designs against that electorate: therefore "her majesty, desirous of providing for the "security of her ports, judged it expedi-"ent to give the forementioned orders; "and at the same time to declare, that she "could no longer permit a free communi-"cation between her subjects and the Eng-"lish, which had hitherto been founded "upon treaties that Great-Britain had, "without scruple, openly violated."

However, notwithstanding these orders, the English pacquet boats, with letters, were permitted to pass as usual to and from

Ostend: the Imperial ministers wisely considering, that it would be impolitic to deprive their mistress of the large sums of money, which this commerce brought into her coffers.

Ostend and Nieuport, by order of her Imperial majesty, admitted each of them a French garrison; the former on the nineteenth of July, and the latter the next day, under the command of M de la Motte, upon whose arrival the Austrians troops retired from those places; though the Empress-queen still reserved to herself, in both of them, the full and free exercise of all her rights of sovereignty; for which purpose an oath was administred to the French commandant by her majesty's minister plenipotentiary for the government of the Low Countries.

At the same time their Imperial and most Christian majesties signified to the magistracy of Hamburg, that they must not allow any English men of war, or transports to enter their port, on pain of being subjected to a French garrison.

The city of Gueldres, which had been blockaded by the French ever since the beginning of summer, was compelled by famine, to capitulate on the twenty-fourth of August, and the garrison marched out with

with all the honours of war, in order to be conveyed to Berlin: but so many of them deserted, that when they passed by Cologne, the whole garrison consisted only of the commandant, and forty-seven men. By the reduction of this place the whole country was laid open to the French and their allies quite up to Magdeburg, and the Empress-queen immediately received two hundred thousand crowns from the revenues of Cleves and la Marcke alone.

To resume now the history of military transactions. The advanced posts of the prince of Anhault Dessau at Pirna, were attacked on the tenth of August by a body of hussars, and other irregular troops of the Austrians; but the Prussians soon repulsed them with the loss of several men and two pieces of cannon.

On the nineteenth of the same month, early in the morning, a great number of Austrian Pandours surrounded a little town called Gotliebe, in which a Prussian garrison was quartered, with a design to take it by surprize. The Pandours assaulted it on all sides, and in the beginning killed twenty-three Prussians, and wounded several; but the Prussians having rallied, soon obliged the enemy to retreat.

These were, however, but a sort of preludes to much more decisive actions which happened in the sequel. Silesia, which had remained undisturbed during the preceding part of this year, began now to feel the effects of war. Baron Jahnus, an Austrian colonel, penetrating into that country with only an handful of men, made himself master of Hirschberg, Waldenberg, Gottesburg, Frankenstein, and Landshut. They were, indeed, but open places, and he was repulsed in an attempt upon Strigau.

On the side of Franconia the army of the empire was assembling with great expedition, under the prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen: the French were sending a second army from their interior provinces into Alsace, in order to reinforce the Imperialists: and the first division of their troops had already entered the empire, and were advanced as far as Hanau. The Swedes were now preparing with the utmost dispatch, to march a numerous army into Pomerania; and the Russians, who, since the taking of Memel, had not done the king of Prussia much harm besides that of obliging him to keep an army in Prussia to oppose them, and interrupting the trade of Koningsberg by their squadrons, were again advancing with hasty strides

hordes towards Prussia, marking their way with horrid desolation.

Field-mareschal Lehwald, who had been detached into Prussia, with an army of thirty thousand men, to defend that kingdom during the absence of his master, was encamped near Velau, when the Russians, to the number of eighty thousand, after taking Memel, invaded the territories of the Prussian king*, whose situation was now truly

* On this occasion mareschal Lehwald published the following declaration, in answer to an artful manifesto dispersed a little while before by the Russians, with a view of seducing the subjects of his Prussian majesty.

"The Imperial court of Russia, not contented with attacking the dominions of his majesty the king of Prussia, has not scrupled to publish a manifesto, whereby she endeavours to draw the inhabitants of Prussia into her dominions, and to alienate them from the allegiance they owe to their sovereign: to which end she makes use of insinuations, not only repugnant to the laws of war, but also contrary to the law of nations.

"One may easily see that her design is to depopulate Prussia; nor is it more difficult to perceive, that what that court asserts in her manifesto, is quite void of foundation, and cannot even palliate her unjust views.

"Foreigners never were constrained to settle in this country; nor was any opposition ever made to their withdrawing, when they desired it: even the migration duties,

truly alarming. In the night between the seventh and eighth of August, colonel Malachowski,

duties, paid in other countries, have not been demanded of them. Foreigners in easy circumstances, who, after having settled in Prussia, wanted to remove elsewhere with their effects, have been allowed to do it, without being crampt in any thing; and this by virtue of the edicts of the first of September, 1747, and the third of September 1749.

"It is well known, that his majesty's subjects enjoy not only all the liberty possible and allowed in well-regulated states; that they may expect, on all occasions, the strictest justice; but they also can truly boast of many other advantages under the wise government of their monarch.

"On the other hand, it is no less notorious, that the inhabitants of the provinces under the dominion of the Russian empire, live in continual oppression; that they are frequently exposed to the most rigorous treatment; that the smallest faults are punished with exile in Siberia; and that foreigners, once settled in Russia, find it very hard to obtain leave to return to their own country, or to remove elsewhere.

"Moreover, the present war affords sad examples of the little stress that is to be laid on the most formal promises. We have seen, that notwithstanding those promises, and in spite of the passports granted to those who had a mind to retire from Memel, in hopes of enjoying the advantages of public safety; and notwithstanding the necessity some were under to submit to the will and law of the strongest, hoping thereby to avoid the brutality of the soldiery, numbers of the said inhabitants of Prussia have been constrained to quit

Jachowski, one of mareschal Lehwald's officers, went with a small party to reconnoitre

quit their country, and others have fallen a prey to the most enormous vexations, or have been abandoned to the pillage of the irregular troops.

"The garrison of Memel is still detained under the most frivolous pretexts: they endeavour, by the most terrible menaces, to force the soldiers to take on in the Russian service; and this too in spite of the capitulation, which allowed that garrison full liberty to retire. In this manner do they break promises, acknowledged by all civilized nations to be inviolable.

"Though, under such circumstances, it is easy to perceive what danger one would be exposed to by listening to the insinuations of that manifesto; and though his majesty is not in the least dubious of the fidelity and attachment of his vassals, subjects, and inhabitants of Prussia; nay, though he hopes that they will not suffer themselves to be imposed upon by the vain promises and fallacious means used to deceive them, and that they will not deviate in any manner from the duties in which they are bound to their sovereign, it has nevertheless been judged proper, by way of farther attention to the happiness of the people under the government of his majesty the king of Prussia, to forewarn all and every one to beware of giving ear to the insinuations of the Russian court; but to continue carefully to keep their oath of allegiance to their sovereign.

"If, notwithstanding that oath and the present warning, any of them should be induced, through simplicity, levity, or malignity, to deviate from their duty, they must expect to be treated as perjured and rebellious subjects.

"And

tre the position of the enemy, when a skirmish happened, which continued near two hours, between his men and a detachment, three times stronger than his. The Russians were repulsed, and driven into the woods, with the loss of fifty men killed, and a great number wounded. The Prussians lost but one man, and had fourteen wounded.

Several other little skirmishes happened between straggling parties of the two armies; and the Russians went on plundering and destroying every thing before them, till at length the two armies having approached to the neighbourhood of each other in Brandenburgh-Prussia, mareschal Lehwald, finding it impossible to spare detachments from his small army to protect the wretched inhabitants from the outrages of the Russian Cossacks, and other barbarians belonging to them, judged it absolutely necessary

"And, to the end that nobody may alledge ignorance in the case, we have, by virtue of the authority given us by his majesty the king of Prussia, signed the present declaration, and affixed thereto the seal of our arms. Done at the camp at Velau, the third of August, 1757. Signed LEHWALD, Marshal of the king's armies, general in chief of his majesty's troops in Prussia, governor of the fortresses in Prussia, knight of the order of the Black Eagle, colonel of infantry, &c."

ceſſary to attack their main body, and accordingly, notwithſtanding his great diſadvantage in almoſt every reſpect, he determined to hazard a battle on the thirtieth of Auguſt.

The Ruſſians, amounting, as has already been obſerved, to eighty thouſand regulars, under the command of mareſchal Appraxin, avoiding the open field, were intrenched in a very ſtrong camp near Norkitten, in Pruſſia. Their army was compoſed of four lines, each of which was covered by an intrenchment, and the whole was ſecured by two hundred pieces of cannon, batteries being placed upon all the eminencies. Mareſchal Lehwald's army did not conſiſt of above thirty thouſand men.

The battle began at five in the morning, and was maintained by the Pruſſians with ſo much vigour, that they intirely broke the whole firſt line of the enemy, and forced all their batteries. The prince of Holſtein-Gottorp, brother to the king of Sweden, at the head of his regiment of dragoons, routed the Ruſſian cavalry; and afterwards fell upon a regiment of grenadiers, which was cut in pieces: but when the Pruſſians came to the ſecond intrenchment, mareſchal Lehwald, perceiving that he could not attempt to carry it without endangering

endangering his own army too much, took the resolution to retreat; which he did in the best manner, and without the enemy's daring to follow him. The Prussians returned to their former camp at Velau, and the Russians remained in theirs.

The loss of the Prussians did not exceed three thousand in killed and wounded; whereas that of the Russians amounted to upwards of ten thousand, some accounts say near fourteen thousand killed, and the number of their wounded was very considerable. General Lapuchin was wounded, and taken prisoner, with a colonel of the Russian artilllery; but the former was sent back on his parole. The Prussian army had, at first, made themselves masters of above eighty pieces of cannon; but these they were afwards obliged to abandon, with eleven of their own, for want of carriages. Three Russian generals were killed; but the Prussians lost no general or officer of distinction, of which rank count Dohna was the only one that was wounded.

After this engagement, mareschal Lehwald altered the position of his army, by drawing towards Peterswald; and the Russians, after remaining quite inactive till the thirteenth of September, on a sudden, to the great surprize of every one, retreated out of

of Prussia, with such precipitation, that they left all their sick and wounded behind them, to the amount of fifteen or sixteen thousand men; together with eighty pieces of cannon, and a considerable part of their military stores. General Appraxin concealed his design, by advancing all his irregulars towards the Prussian army; so that marechal Lehwald was not apprized of it till the third day, when he detached prince George of Holstein with ten thousand horse to pursue the enemy; but with little hopes of overtaking them, as they made forced marches, in order the sooner to reach their own country. The Prussians, however, took several of them prisoners; and many stragglers were killed by the country people in their flight towards Tilsit, which they abandoned; though they still kept Memel, and shortly after strengthened it with some new fortifications. They made their retreat in two columns, one of which bent its course towards Memel; whilst the other took the nearest way through the bailiwic of Absternen, and laid bridges over the river Jura. Both columns burnt every village they passed through, without distinction. The Prussians were stopt in their pursuit of these barbarians, by the bridges thrown

over the river Memel having been broke down by the violence of the ſtream.

The Ruſſian army ſuffered greatly for want of proviſions, as all the countries they paſſed through were ruined, ſo that they could find no ſort of ſubſiſtence but herbage, and rye-bread. All the roads were ſtrewed with dead bodies of men and horſes.

The real cauſe of this ſudden retreat was never fully known; though the occaſion of it is ſaid to have been the illneſs of the Czarina, who was ſeized with a kind of apoplectic fit; and had made ſome new regulations, in caſe of a vacancy of the throne, which made it neceſſary that the regular forces ſhould be at hand, to ſupport the meaſures taken by the government.

The king of Pruſſia, after remaining for ſome time encamped between Bautzen and Goerlitz, tranſferred his head-quarters to Bernſtedel; and on the fifteenth of Auguſt his army came in ſight of the Auſtrian camp, and within cannon-ſhot of it: upon which the Auſtrians ſtruck their tents, and drew up in order of battle before their entrenchments. The king marſhalled his army over-againſt them, and immediately went to reconnoitre the ground between the two armies; but, as it was then late, he delay-

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ed the more exact examination of that circumstance till the next day. The two armies continued under arms all night.

The next morning, at break of day, the king found the Austrians encamped with their right at the river Weisle; the rest of their army being posted on a rising ground, at the foot of a mountain covered with wood, which protected their left; and before their front, at the bottom of the hill, on which they were formed, was a small brook, passable only in three places, and passable for no more than four or five men a breast. Towards the left of their army was an opening, where three or four battalions might have marched in front: but behind it they had placed three lines of infantry; and on a hill which flanked this opening, within musket-shot, were placed four thousand foot, with forty or fifty pieces of cannon; so that, in reality, this was the strongest part of their camp.

The king tried every expedient to bring the Austrians to a battle; but finding them absolutely determined to remain on the defensive, after lying four days before them, he and his army returned to their camp at Bernstedel. They were followed by some of the enemy's hussars and pandours, who,

however, had not the good fortune to take the ſmalleſt booty in this retreat.

The Auſtrian army, which thus avoided an engagement, was, by their own account, an hundred and thirty thouſand ſtrong: more than double the number of the king of Pruſſia, who, the day he returned to Bernſtedel after he had retired about two thouſand yards, again drew up his army in line of battle, and continued ſo upwards of an hour; but not a man ſtirred from the Auſtrian camp.

The army of the empire, commanded by the prince of Saxe Hildburghauſen, and that of the French under the prince of Soubiſe, making together about fifty thouſand men, half of which were French, had by this time joined, and advanced as far as Erfurth in Saxony: upon which his Pruſſian majeſty, finding that all his endeavours could not provoke the Auſtrians to an engagement, ſet out from Luſatia, accompanied by mareſchal Keith, with ſixteen battalions and forty ſquadrons of his troops, and arrived at Dreſden on the twenty-ninth of Auguſt, leaving the reſt of the army in a ſtrong camp under the prince of Bevern.

With this detachment, which, by the junction of ſeveral bodies of troops, amount-

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ed to about forty thousand men, he made a rapid march by the way of Leipzic, towards Erfurth, in order to attack the united army of the French and the empire. But by the time he reached Erfurth, which was on the fourteenth of September, the enemy had retreated towards Gotha; and upon his nearer approach, they withdrew to Eysenach, where they intrenched themselves in a very strong camp. His majesty's head-quarters were at Kirschlaben, near Erfurth.

While the two armies were in this position, major-general Seydelitz, who occupied the town of Gotha, having received intelligence, that a large body of the enemy was advancing against him, composed of two regiments of Austrian hussars, one regiment of French hussars, and a detachment made up of French grenadiers, troops of the army of the empire, and great number of croats and pandours, retired, and posted himself at some distance off.

Upon this the enemy took immediate possession of the town and castle; but general Seydelitz, having been joined by some other troops, attacked them with such vigour, that he soon obliged them to abandon their new conquest, and to retire with great precipitation. The Prussian hussars took a considerable booty on this occasion; and

general Seydelitz sent prisoners to the camp one lieutenant-colonel, three majors, four lieutenants, and sixty-two soldiers of the enemy, who lost about one hundred and thirty killed in the action.

After this engagement his Prussian majesty advanced towards Eysenach, with a design to give battle to the combined army: but they were so strongly intrenched, that he found it impossible; and his provisions falling short, he was obliged to retire, first to Erfurth, and then to Naumburg on the river Sala; upon which he combined army decamped, and again took possession of Gotha, Erfurth, and Weimar. This last place, however, they soon abandoned.

Upon the king of Prussia's quitting Bernstedel, the Austrians took possession of it on the sixth of September, and made prisoners a Prussian battalion, which had been left there. The next day fifteen thousand Austrians attacked two battalions of general Winterfeld's troops, being part of the prince of Bevern's army, who were posted on a rising ground on the other side of the Neiss, near Hennersdorff, in the neighbourhood of Goerlitz; and, after being repulsed several times, at last made themselves masters of the eminence.

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The loſs, in this action, was on both ſides conſiderable; but moſt ſo on that of the Pruſſians, not ſo much by the number of their ſlain, which ſcarcely exceeded that of the Auſtrians, as by the death of their brave general Winterfeld, who, as he was leading up ſuccours to the battalions that were attacked, received a ſhot from a cannon, of which he died the night enſuing. The generals Nadaſti and Clerici, count d'Arberg, colonel Elrickhauſen, and ſeveral other officers of diſtinction, were wounded, and the young count of Groeſbeeck, and the marquis d'Aſque killed, on the ſide of the Auſtrians; who took ſix pieces of the Pruſſian cannon, ſix pair of their colours, and made general Kameke, the count de Anhalt, and ſome other officers, priſoners.

After this ſkirmiſh, the prince of Bevern, with the Pruſſian army under his command, retired from Goerlitz to Rothenberg, then croſſed the Neiſs at Sygerſdorff, from whence he proceeded to Buntzlau in Sileſia, and on the firſt of October arrived at Breſlau, without ſuffering any loſs, though for ſome days purſued by the numerous army of the Auſtrians. Upon his arrival there, he intrenched his army in a very ſtrong camp on the other ſide of the Oder, in order to cover the city of Breſlau, the works of which he immediately

mediately took care to strengthen by some new fortifications.

Though this engagement was little more than a drawn battle, yet as the Austrians kept possession of the field, it was considered at Vienna as a signal victory. The death of general Winterfeld, indeed, was an irreparable loss to his Prussian majesty, who, receiving at the same time the news of this misfortune, and of the Swedes having now actually invaded Pomerania, said, with tears in his eyes, "I may find resources against the multitude of my enemies; but now few men are to be found equal to Winterfeld!"

The French, who, let loose against the king of Prussia by the convention of Closterseven, had entered the territories of Halberstadt and Magdeburg, were defeated at Eglen by a party of six hundred men, under the command of count Horn, whom prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had detached from a body of troops, with which his Prussian majesty had sent him to protect those countries. The Prussians took prisoners the count of Lusignan, colonel, eighteen other French officers, and four hundred soldiers, and made themselves masters of a considerable booty in baggage, &c. with the loss of only two men; besides which, a French officer and forty men were made prisoners at Hal-

Halberſtadt. Upon this check the French abandoned the country of Halberſtadt for a little while; but returning again on the twenty-ninth of September, with a conſiderable reinforcement from mareſchal Richelieu's army, which he now could eaſily ſpare, prince Ferdinand was obliged to retreat to Winſleben, near the city of Magdeburgh.

The dangers, which had been hitherto kept at a diſtance from the Pruſſian dominions, by the conſummate prudence and activity of their king, now drew nearer, and threatened them on all ſides with immediate deſtruction. Mareſchal Richelieu, with eighty battalions and an hundred ſquadrons, entered the country of Halberſtadt, and raiſed immenſe contributions; whilſt the allied army of the French and Imperialiſts, reinforced by ſix thouſand men under general Laudohn, who had juſt defeated a regiment of Pruſſian cavalry near Erfurth, advanced to Weiſſenfels, a city in the very center of Thuringia. The Swedes had actually taken ſome towns in Pomerania, and were preparing to lay ſiege to Stetin; and the Auſtrians, who had made themſelves maſters of Lignitz, and a conſiderable part of Sileſia, had now inveſted Schweidnitz, and ſeemed to paſs the Oder, in order to

attack

attack the prince of Bevern in his camp near Breslau.

In the mean time they made frequent, and always destructive incursions into Brandenburgh; to oppose which his Prussian majesty ordered detachments from all his regiments in those parts to join the militia of the country, and sent the prince of Anhalt Dessau from Leipsic, with a body of ten thousand men, to secure Berlin, whilst he himself, with the troops under his command, proceeded to Interbeck, on the frontiers of the Lower Lusatia, to be the more at hand to cover Brandenburgh, and keep open his communication with Silesia.

While these precautions were taking, general Haddick, with fifteen or sixteen thousand Austrians, pierced into Brandenburgh on the sixteenth of October, and presenting himself before Berlin, extorted from the inhabitants a contribution of two hundred and ten thousand crowns. The Austrians pillaged two of the suburbs; but before they could do any farther mischief, they were obliged to retreat in great haste, by the approach of the prince of Anhalt-Dessau, whose vanguard entered the city on the evening of their departure. This alarm, however, obliged the queen, and the royal family of Prussia, to retire

to

to Magdeburgh on the twenty-third; and the most valuable records were conveyed to the fort of Spandau, at the conflux of the Havel and the Sphre.

The king of Prussia had made several attemps to bring the combined army under the princes Saxe-Hildbourghausen and Soubise to an engagement upon fair ground; but finding them resolved to avoid it, notwithstanding their superiority in numbers, he had recourse to one of those masterly strokes, by which a general is better seen than by the gaining of a victory. He made a feint soon after the beginning of October, as if he intended nothing more than to cover his own dominions, and to distribute his army into winter-quarters at Berlin, leaving mareschal Keith with only seven or eight thousand men to guard Leipsic.

Upon this the enemy took courage, advanced to the Sala, and having crossed the city, summoned the mareschal to surrender; to which he replied, that the king, his master, had ordered him to defend the place to the last extremity, and he would obey his orders. The enemy then thought of laying siege to the place; but before they could prepare any one implement for that purpose, they were alarmed by the approach of

of the king of Prussia, who, wisely foreseeing the effect of his feint, had, by private and previous orders, assembled together all his distant detachments, some of which were twenty leagues asunder, and were advancing, by long marches, to Leipsic; upon notice of which the enemy repassed the Sala. The Prussian army arrived at Leipsic the twenty seventh of October, and remained the twenty eighth and twenty-ninth, when every body expected a battle would be fought in the plains of Lutzen. On the thirtieth the king drew nearer that place; and on the thirty-first, in his way through Weissenfels and Meresburgh, he took five hundred men prisoners.

The combined army had repassed the Sala at Weissenfels, Meresburgh and Halle, where they destroyed the bridges; but these were soon rebuilt, and the whole Prussian army, amounting to no more than twenty thousand men, having crossed that river through these towns, in each of which they left a battalion, re-united again on the third of November in the evening over against the enemy, whose forces consisted of forty thousand French, and twenty-five thousand Imperialists.

The king was going to attack them on the fourth, but deferred it; and that whole day

day was ſpent in a cannonade, which did no great damage on either ſide.

On the fifth, about nine in the morning, the Pruſſians received intelligence, that the enemy were every where in motion. They likewiſe heard their drums beating the march, and could even perceive from their camp, that their whole infantry, which had drawn nearer upon the riſing grounds, over againſt them, was filing off towards their right. It was impoſſible, however to form, as yet, any certain judgment of their real deſign; and as they were in want of bread, it was not unlikely that they intended to repaſs the Unſtrut: but it was ſoon obſerved, that their ſeveral motions were contradictory to each other.

At the ſame time that ſome of their infantry was filing off towards their right, a large body of cavalry wheeled round towards their left, directing its march all along to the riſing grounds, with which the whole Pruſſian camp, that lay in a bottom between the villages of Rederow and Roſbach, was ſurrounded, within the reach of large cannon. Soon after that cavalry was ſeen to halt, and afterwards to fall back to the right; though ſome of them ſtill remained in their advanced ſituation.

About two in the afternoon the doubts of the Prussians were fully cleared up: it was then apparent that the enemy intended to attack them, and that their dispositions were made with a view to surround them, and to open the action by charging them in the rear. A body of reserve was posted over against Rederow, to fall upon their flying troops, in case they should be defeated, and to prevent their retiring to Meresburg, the only retreat that then would have been left them.

In this situation the king of Prussia resolved not to expect, but to give the attack. He had determined to make the charge with one wing only; and the disposition of the enemy made it necessary that it should be the left wing. The very instant the battle was going to begin, he addressed his troops in the following terms.

"My dear friends! the hour is come, "in which all that is, or ought to be dear "to us, depends upon the swords, which "are now drawn for the battle. Time "permits me to say but little; nor is there "occasion to say much. You know, that "there is no labour, no hunger, no cold, "no watching, no danger, that I have "not shared with you hitherto; and you "now see me ready to lay down my life

"with

"with you, and for you. All I ask is the "same pledge of fidelity and affection that "I give. And let me add, not as an in-"citement to your courage, but as a testi-"mony of my own gratitude, that, from "this hour, until you go into quarters, "your pay shall be doubled. Acquit "yourselves like men, and put your con-"fidence in GOD." The effect of this speech may be more easily conceived than described. The general emotion burst into an universal shout, and the men, by their looks and demeanour, seemed to be animated to a kind of heroic phrensy. In this disposition, which prognosticated success, the engagement began. His majesty had ordered the general, who commanded the right wing, to decline engaging, to take a proper position for that purpose, and especially to be on his guard against being surrounded. All the cavalry of the right wing of the Prussians, except two or three squadrons, had already marched to the left, which was done at full gallop; and being arrived at the place assigned them, they formed over-against that of the enemy.

They then moved on immediately; the enemy's horse advanced to meet them, and the charge was very fierce, several regiments of the French coming on with great

esolution. The advantage, however, was entirely on the side of the Prussians. The enemy's cavalry being routed, were pursued for a considerable time with great spirit; but having afterwards gained an eminence, which enabled them to rally, the Prussian cavalry attacked them afresh, and gave them so total a defeat, that they fled in the greatest confusion. This happened at four in the afternoon.

Whilst the cavalry of the Prussians charged, their infantry opened. The enemy cannonaded them briskly during this interval, and did some execution; but the Prussian artillery was superior to theirs. After this cannonading had continued on both sides a full quarter of an hour, without the least intermission, the fire of the small arms began. The enemy could not stand it, nor resist the valour of the Prussian foot, who gallantly marched up to their batteries. These were carried one after another, and the enemy were forced to give way, which they did in the utmost disorder.

As the left wing of the Prussians advanced, their right altered its position; and having soon reached a small rising ground took advantage of it, by planting it with sixteen pieces of heavy artillery. The fire from thence was partly directed against the enemy's

my's right, and against the left wing in front, which was excessively galled by it. At five the victory was decided, the canonnading ceased, and the enemy fled on all sides. They were pursued as long as there was any light to distinguish objects; and it may be said, that night alone was the preservation of this army, which had been so formidable in the morning. They took the benefit of the darkness to hurry into Fryburgh, and there to repass the Unstrut, which they did on the morning of the sixth, after a whole night's march.

The king of Prussia set uot early in the morning to pursue them with all his cavalry, sustained by four battalions of grenadiers, the infantry following them in two columns. The enemy had just passed the Unstrut, when the Prussians arrived on its banks; and as they had destroyed the bridge, it became necessary to repair it, which, however, was soon done. The cavalry passed first, but could not come up with the enemy till five in the evening, upon the hills of Eckersberg. It was then too late to force them there; for which reason the king thought proper to canton his army in the nearest villages, and to be satisfied with the success his hussars had in taken near three hundred bag-

gage-waggons, and every thing they contained.

The whole loſs of the Pruſſians, in this important action, did not exceed three hundred men killed and wounded. Among the former was general Meincke; and among the latter prince Henry and general Seydelitz. The enemy loſt ſixty-three pieces of cannon, fifteen ſtandards, two pair of kettle-drums, ſeven pair of colours, near three hundred men killed on the field of battle, and upwards of ſix thouſand taken priſoners, among whom were no leſs than two hundred and fifty officers. Three hundred waggons were ſent to Leipſic loaded with wounded French and Swiſs. Upon the approach of the Pruſſians towards Eckerſberg, the enemy retreated with great precipitation; and, after marching all night, arrived the next day at Erfurth, in the utmoſt want of every neceſſary of life, not having had a morſel of bread for two days, during which they had been obliged to live upon turnips, radiſhes, and other roots, which they dug out of the earth.

The French, under the duke of Richelieu, were preparing to go into winter-quarters; but hearing of the defeat of the combined army, they again put themſelves in motion, and a large body of them advanced

vanced as far as Duderstadt, to favour the retreat of their countrymen under the prince of Soubise, who, with great precipitation, made the best of their way from Erfurth to the county of Hohenstein, and from thence bent their march towards Halberstadt. Of the remains of the Imperial army, which was now almost intirely dispersed, whole battalions deserted, and went over to the king of Prussia, soon after this battle.

Whilst his Prussian majesty thus triumphed over the French and Imperialists, the Austrians, who carefully avoided coming to a general engagement with him, proceeded in their conquests in Silesia. A detachment of their army, under the command of count Nadasti, had already laid siege to Schweidnitz, and opened the trenches before it on the twenty-sixth of October. The Prussian garrison, commanded by general de la Motte Fouquet, determined to defend the place to the last extremity; and accordingly on the thirtieth they made a sally, in which they killed, wounded, and took prisoners, eight hundred of the besiegers, and did some damage to their works: but on the sixth of November the Austrians began to cannonade the city furiously, and on the eleventh made themselves masters of the ramparts by assault. The garrison, however,

ever, having taken care, during the ſiege, to throw up a ſtrong intrenchment in the market-place, retreated thither, and held out till the next day, when they ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war.

After the reduction of this place, general Nadaſti, having ſupplied it with a ſufficient garriſon, marched with the remainder of his troops, and joined the main army of the Auſtrians, under the command of prince Charles of Lorrain and mareſchal Daun, who, whilſt Nadaſti was employed in the ſiege of Schweidnitz, had inveſted Breſlau on the left of the Oder: the prince of Bevern defending it on the right, where he was ſtrongly intrenched with his little army, under the cannon of the city.

The whole army of the Auſtrians being now re-united, and advice having been received, not only of the king of Pruſſia's late victory near Leipſic, but alſo that he was advancing to the relief of the prince of Bevern, a reſolution was taken to attack this laſt in his intrenchments, and, if poſſible, to diſlodge him. Accordingly, on the twenty-ſecond of November, about nine in the morning, the Auſtrians began a moſt furious cannonade; and this continued without ceaſing till one, when it was ſucceeded

by

by a ſmart fire of their ſmall arms, which laſted till five in the evening.

The Pruſſians, with ſurprizing intrepidity, ſtood two of the moſt violent attacks that were ever made; but at the third, overpowered with numbers, and aſſailed on all ſides, they began to give way, and were forced to retire from one intrenchment to another. In this extremity, night coming on, the Pruſſian generals, apprehenſive their intrenchments would be intirely forced, and that they ſhould then be totally defeated, thought proper to retreat. The prince of Bevern, with the greateſt part of the army, withdrew to a riſing ground on the banks of the Oder, whilſt the reſt of the troops threw themſelves into Breſlau, which they might have defended, in all probability, till the king had come up to its relief. But, on the twenty-fourth, their commander in chief, the prince of Bevern, going to take a view of the poſition of the enemy, with only a ſingle groom to attend him, fell in among a party of Croats, who took him priſoner. In conſequence of this misfortune his army decamped that ſame night, leaving in Breſlau only four battalions, who, the next day, ſurrendered the place by capitulation; one of the articles of which was, that they ſhould not ſerve

against

against the Empress, or her allies, for two years. All the magazines, chests, artillery, and ammunition, fell into the hands of the Austrians. The garrison marched out with all the honours of war, conducted by general Leswitz, governor of Breslau.

Though the Austrians sung Te Deum for this victory, they owned that such another would annihilate their army; for it cost them the lives of twenty thousand men: a number almost equal to the whole Prussian army before the battle. They had four almost impregnable intrenchments to force, planted thick with cannon, which fired cartridge-shot from nine in the morning till the evening; and the Prussians, during the attack, were never once put in disorder.

Among the slain, on the side of the Austrians, were general Wurben, and several other officers of distinction. The loss of the Prussians hardly amounted to three thousand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of which last there were about sixteen hundred. Their general Kleist was found dead on the field of battle.

The king of Prussia, improving the victory he had lately gained, staid no longer at Rosbach than till the routed forces of the French and Imperialists were totally dispersed. That done, he proceeded directly with

with the greatest part of his army for Silesia; and, in a few days, attacked Naumberg on the Queiss, a little river which runs into the Bobber, having in his route detached mareschal Keith, with the rest of his army, to clear Saxony from all the Austrian parties, and then to make an irruption into Bohemia; which he did so effectually, as to raise large contributions in the circles of Sartz and Leitmeritz, and even to strike terror into Prague itself.

His majesty carried along with him only fifteen thousand men, with which he advanced, with his usual rapidity, to Barchwitz; where, notwithstanding all that had happened at Schweidnitz and at Breslau, he was reinforced by twenty-four thousand more, partly of troops, which he had ordered from Saxony, partly the remains of the army lately commanded by the prince of Bevern, and partly the late garrison of Schweidnitz, which, by a surprising exertion of courage, had made their escape from the Austrians.

While these last were conducting them to prison, on their route they chanced to hear of the victory their master had gained at Rosbach. Animated with this news, they unanimously rose upon the escort that guarded them, which, happening not to be very strong,

ſtrong, they entirely diſperſed. Thus freed, they marched on, not very certain of their way, in hopes to rejoin ſome corps of the Pruſſian troops, their countrymen. The ſame fortune which freed them, led them directly to the army commanded by the king himſelf, which was haſtening to their relief, as well as to that of the prince of Bevern. This unexpected meeting was equally pleaſing to both, the priſoners not having heard any thing of his majeſty's march; and at the ſame time this lucky incident, whilſt it added a conſiderable ſtrength to the army, added likewiſe to its confidence; for the ſlighteſt occurrence is converted into an omen, by an army at the eve of an engagement.

With this force, tho' greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy, he determined to attack the Auſtrians, who were encamped at Liſſa near Breſlau. On the fourth of December he ſeized upon their ovens at Neumarck, and upon a conſiderable magazine, eſcorted by two regiments of croats, who withdrew to an eminence, where his majeſty ordered his huſſars to ſurround them, and ſent a trumpet to ſummon them to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. Upon their refuſal, the huſſars of Zithen fell upon them ſword in hand;

ſome hundreds of them having been cut in pieces, the reſt threw down their arms, begging for quarter on their knees. After this ſeizure, and after having diſtributed to his army the proviſions he had taken, he next morning reſumed his march towards Liſſa

General Zithen, who led the vanguard of light horſe, about ſeven in the morning, came up with a body of Auſtrian huſſars, and three regiments of Saxon dragoons, which were the very beſt cavalry the enemy had left after the action at Breſlau. They had been detached by the Auſtrians in order to retard the king's march, and to conceal their own, till their batteries ſhould be compleated; for, as they held the ſmall number of the Pruſſians in contempt, their intention was to have met the king two German miles off from their intrenchments.

The Auſtrian cavalry having been vigorouſly repulſed to a conſiderable diſtance, general Zithen obſerved, that their whole army was forming. He immediately communicated this diſcovery to the king, who, after having himſelf ſurveyed the diſpoſition of the enemy, made his own with that quickneſs and true judgment for which he has always been ſo juſtly celebrated.

The action began by attacking a battery of forty pieces of large cannon, which defended the right wing of the enemy. The two battalions of guards, and of the regiments of the margrave Charles and of Itzenplitz, marched up, amidst a most terrible fire, to the very mouths of the cannon, with their bayonets fixed. In this attack the Prussians sustained their greatest loss, though the battery was carried as soon almost as they could reach it: after which the enemy's artillery, now turned against themselves, played furiously upon them with their own powder. From that instant the two wings and the center of the Prussians continued to drive the enemy before them, advancing all the time with that slow and regular pace for which they have always been remarkable, without ever halting or giving way.

The ground which the Austrians occupied was very advantageous, and every circumstance that could render it inaccessible had been improved to the utmost by the diligence and skill of count Daun, who, remembering that he was the only general, who had ever carried the field from his Prussian majesty, was emboldened to enter the lists again with his great antagonist. The Prussians, however, no way terrified by this circumstance

nance, went calmly and dreadfully forward.

It was almost impossible, in the beginning of the action, for the Prussian cavalry to act, on account of the impediments of felled trees which the enemy had thrown in the way, to retard their approach: but this inconvenience was, in a great measure removed by the admirable disposition of the army. When his majesty first formed his lines, he had placed four battalions behind the cavalry of his right wing, foreseeing that general Nadasti, who was placed with a corps of reserve on the enemy's left, intended to take him in flank.

It happened exactly as he had apprehended; this general's horse attacked him with great fury: but he was received with so severe a fire from the four battalions, that he was obliged to retire in disorder. The enemy gave way on all sides; and after having, by a quick retreat, got at some distance, rallied themselves three times, animated by their officers and by the superiority of their numbers. Every time they made a stand, the Prussians attacked them with redoubled vigour, and always with success equal to their bravery.

Towards night the enemy, still retreating, fell into disorder. Their two wings fled in confusion: one of them, closely pressed by

the king, ran towards Breslau, and took shelter under the cannon of that city; the other, pursued by the greatest part of the light cavalry, towards Canth and Schweidnitz. Six thousand Austrians fell in this engagement; and the Prussians, who had only five hundred men killed, and two thousand three hundred wounded, made twenty-one thousand five hundred of the enemy prisoners, among which were two hundred and ninety-one officers, took an hundred and sixty eight cannon, fifty one colours and standards, and four thousand waggons of ammunition and baggage. So great was the consternation of the enemy, that a cornet of Ziethen's regiment, with a party of ten men only, took, disarmed, and brought a hundred of them prisoners to the head quarters. For this gallant action the king promoted him to the rank of a captain, and honoured him with *the order of merit*.

The consequences that followed this victory declared its greatness. The siege of Breslau was immediately undertaken. The Prussians, flushed with success, were at first for storming it; but their more prudent general, knowing the strength of the garrison, which amounted to upwards of thirteen thousand men, and considering both the fatigues which his own soldiers had lately

lately suffered and the fatal consequences that might ensue, should they fail of success in the attempt, ordered the approaches to be carried on in the usual form. His commands were obeyed; and the attack carried on with such vigour and spirit, that Breslau surrendered to him on the twentieth of December in the morning. The garrison, of which ten thousand bore arms, and between three and four thousand lay sick or wounded, were made prisoners of war. Fourteen of these prisoners were officers of distinction. The military chest, a vast treasure, with eighty pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors, who lost only about twenty men in their approaches. During the siege, a magazine of powder was set on fire by a bomb; which occasioned great confusion among the besieged, and facilitated considerably the reduction of the town.

His majesty pursuing his blow, proceeded directly to invest Schweidnitz; and though this place was not surrendered till the spring of the ensuing year, yet it then submitted on the same terms with Breslau. The Prussians opened their trenches before it on the third of April 1758, and erected two large batteries, which kept a continual fire upon the town. The artillery of the be-

siegers consisted of three hundred pieces of cannon, of different dimensions, and eighty mortars; an amazing artillery, and such as had never been seen in former campaigns. On the night of the fourteenth the Prussians carried one of the chief works by assault, and presently effected a lodgment; upon which the commandant capitulated the next day, with the garrison, which was now greatly diminished in its number; being not half of what it amounted to at the beginning of the blockade.

Thus all the parts of Silesia, which the king of Prussia had lost by one unfortunate blow, fell again into his possession; and his affairs, which but a few months before seemed verging on inevitable destruction, were now re-established upon a firmer basis than ever. The Prussian parties not only repossessed themselves of those parts of Silesia which belonged to their king, but penetrating into the Austrian division, reduced Jagerndorf, Troppau, Tretchen, and several other places, and left the empress-queen scarce any footing in that country, of which, but a few months before, she reckoned herself absolute mistress.

By this time the Swedes had resolved upon an open rupture with his Prussian majesty, and, in consequence of that resolution,

on, sent so many troops into Pomerania, that, in the month of August, their army in those parts amounted to twenty-five thousand men. Their first act of hostility was the seizure of Anclam and Demmin, two towns that lay in the way to Stetin, against which their principal design was directed.

But before they proceeded further count Hamilton, their commander, in vindication of his master's conduct, published a declaration, importing, "that the king of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, could not help sending his troops into the upper part of the dutchy of Pomerania belonging to the king of Prussia; and that, therefore, all the officers appointed to receive the public revenue in that country, must pay what money they had in their hands to general Hamilton, who was commissioned to receive the same for his Swedish majesty: that, moreover, an exact account was required within eight days, of the revenues of the country; but that no more than ordinary contributions would be demanded of the inhabitants, who might rest assured, that the Swedish troops should be made to observe the strictest discipline."

After

After this declaration they invested the little fortress of Penemunde, upon the river Pene, and, on the twenty third of September, after a siege of nine days, obliged the garrison, which was composed only of militia, to surrender themselves prisoners of war. This alternative the governor chose, rather than engage not to serve for two years, alledging, that such an engagement was inconsistent with his honour, whilst his prince had so much occasion for his service; and the Swedish general, touched with this noble way of thinking, was, on his part, so generous as to set him at liberty.

On the other hand general Manteuffel, who commanded the Prussian forces then in Pomerania, consisting of twelve thousand men, with which he was encamped before Stetin, to cover that place, published, in answer to this, a declaration, enjoining the inhabitants of Pomerania, to continue faithful to the king of Prussia, their lawful sovereign, under pain of incurring his just indignation, and absolutely forbidding them to pay any regard to the Swedish manifesto.

Mean while mareschal Lehwald, immediately after the battle of Norkitten, when the Russians began to return to their own country, detached prince George of Holstein-Gottorp, with a considerable body of forces,

forces, to the relief of Pomerania; and, shortly after, the Russian forces having totally retired from every part of Prussia, except Memel, and most of them being actually gone into winter quarters, he himself followed, with an additional reinforcement of sixteen thousand men. Upon his approach the Swedes, who were then encamped at Ferdinandshoff, and had begun to fill up the harbour of Swinnemunde, by way of preparation for the siege of Stetin, retreated with such precipitation, that they left behind them a little garrison at Wellin, consisting of two hundred and ten men, who were made prisoners of war.

Demmin was attacked by the Prussians on the twenty-ninth of December; and the Swedes having lost one officer and forty men, desired to capitulate. As it was not thought proper to continue the siege to an unnecessary length in so sharp a season, their request was granted, and they had leave to retire with two pieces of cannon. The Prussians entered the town on the second day of January, after the Swedes had, on the thirtieth of December, likewise surrendered Anclam, where the conquerors took an hundred and fifty prisoners; and found a considerable magazine of provisions, and ammunition.

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Mareschal Lehwald then crossed the Pene, and penetrated into Gutzkow, Loitz, Tripsus, and Nebringen. At the same time lieutenant-general Schorlemmer passed with his corps from the isle of Wollin into the isle of Usedom, and from thence to Wolgast, the Swedes having abandoned this town, as well as Schwinemunde, and the fort of Penemunde. The prince of Holstein advanced as far as Grimm and Grieffswalde, and the Swedes, quitting one town after another, till they had nothing remaining in Pomerania but the port of Stralsund, continued retreating till they had reached this last place.

The French party in Sweden, to comfort the people, called this retreat, or rather flight, going into winter-quarters. The Prussian hussars were not idle wherever they came; for besides plundering and pillaging like hussars, they levied a contribution of an hundred and sixty thousand crowns in Swedish Pomerania. The Mecklenburghers, who had joined the Swedes with six thousand of their troops, now found cause to repent their imprudence, being left quite exposed to the resentment of the victors, who chastised them severely for their folly. The army of the Swedes, without fighting a single battle, was by sick-

ſickneſs, deſertion, and other accidents, reduced to one half the number it conſiſted of when they firſt took the field.

The landgrave of Heſſe-Caſſel, ſoon after the invaſion of his territories by the French army, had applied to the king of Sweden, as one of the guarantees of the treaty of Weſtphalia, deſiring him to interpoſe his good offices with the court of France, to obtain a more favourable treatment for his dominions than they received: but his Swediſh majeſty, by the advice of the ſenate, thought proper to den his requeſt, pretending, that as the crown of Sweden was one of the principal guarantees of the treaty of Weſtphalia, it could not conſiſtently take ſuch a ſtep, in favour of a prince, who had not only violated the laws and conſtitutions of the empire, in refuſing to furniſh his contingent, but had even aſſiſted, with his troops, a power known to be its declared enemy. The Aulic council too, ſeeing, or affecting to ſee the behaviour of the landgrave in the ſame light, iſſued a decree againſt his ſerene highneſs towards the end of this year.

Agreeably

Agreeably to the promise, which we made in a former note, we shall now present the reader with a complete view of the several pieces introduced by the courts of Vienna *and* Berlin, *in vindication of the measures, which they respectively embraced.*

JUSTIFYING PROOFS, Published by Authority at BERLIN.

Numb. I.

Treaty of Eventual Partition, dated May 18, 1745.

EXPERIENCE having but well shewn how far the king of Prussia carries his evil intentions, in order to disturb the repose of his neighbours; and that prince having on the one hand repeatedly invaded and laid waste the dominions of her majesty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia, and on the other side alarmed his majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, by divers menaces, warlike preparations, and violently passing through his territories, for which it has not been possible to obtain due satisfaction for time past, nor sufficient security for the future; it has been considered that this double end cannot be obtained till the said formidable neighbour is reduced within narrow bounds. For these reasons, his maiesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, as an auxiliary ally, and her majesty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia, as

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a party attacked and at war, have agreed, by the present separate and secret act, to employ their joint efforts, not only to perform fully the act passed between their majesties the $\frac{5}{17}$ of May, 1744, and the measures concerted in consequence of the engagements entered into by their treaty of alliance the 8th of January, 1745, with the maritime powers: but likewise, that neither the one nor the other shall lay down their arms, till, besides the conquest of all Silesia and the county of Glazt, the king of Prussia be farther reduced.

And that they may previously understand one another, with regard to the partition of the conquests to be made, seeing the 8th article of the said treaty of Warsaw only settled in general terms, that his majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, is to partake of the advantages, by having such territories as lie convenient for him; it has appeared necessary to distinguish the cases that may hereafter happen, and to come to a right understanding about each of them.

Suppose then, that besides the recovery of all Silesia and the county of Glatz, they should conquer from the said king the dutchy of Magdeburg, including therein the principality of Crossen, with the circle

of Saal, the principality of Crossen with the circle of Zullichau belonging thereto, and the fiefs of Bohemia possessed by that king, and situated in Lusatia; namely, Corbus, Peitz, Storkau, Beeskau, Sommerfeld, and other places and districts belonging thereto: in this case, all Silesia and the county of Glatz, excepting Swibus, must return to her majesty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia, who, in exchange, cedes all the rest just mentioned, with the district of Swibus, belonging otherwise to Silesia, to his majesty the king of Poland elector of Saxony.

Supposing, on the contrary, that besides the recovering of all Silesia and the county of Glatz, they should conquer upon the aggressor no more than the circle of Saal, the principality of Crossen, with the circle of Zullichau, and the abovementioned fiefs belonging to him in Lusatia; then his Polish majesty, elector of Saxony, shall be content with this last partition and the district of Swibus, leaving in like manner to her majesty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia all Silesia and the county of Glatz, Swibus excepted. But suppose, in fine, that contrary to all expectation, and in spite of the joint efforts abovementioned, they should conquer besides the county of Glatz and the whole of Silesia, no more than the

Zul-

Zullichau, and the abovesaid fiefs of Bohemia possessed by the said king in Lusatia: in this case, his Polish majesty shall have, besides the principality, the circle and the fiefs just mentioned, the district of Swibus otherwise belonging to Silesia.

And to the end that his majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, whatever happens may be so much the more assured of these last acquisitions, at the least, and in all events; her majesty the queen of Hungary and Bohemia engages in the strongest and most solemn manner, that his majesty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, shall have precisely the same securities for these new acquisitions, which she shall or may have for the recovery of her antient patrimonial territories, that is to say, Silesia and the county of Glatz; so that every thing is to go on with an equal pace, and that she must not sit down with the possession of all Silesia, before his majesty the king of Poland be likewise in possession of his share of the conquests.

To this end the Saxon troops of his Polish majesty shall remain in re-conquered Silesia, till his stipulated share be effected, at least according to the last of the cases abovementioned.

After which the high contracting parties shall reciprocally guaranty, both for

themselves and their heirs and successors for ever, whatever has fallen to their respective lot, and shall endeavour to get the same guarantied by their allies.

In witness whereof their majesties have each signed, with their own hand, a copy of the same tenor of this separate and secret act, in order to be exchanged against one another, and have caused their royal seals to be affixed thereto. Done at Leipsic, the 18th of May 1745.

(L. S.) AUGUSTUS R.

Numb. II

Translation of the secret separate Article of the Treaty of Petersburgh, 1756.

Her majesty the Empress queen of Hungary and Bohemia declares that the peace concluded at Dresden, between her and his majesty the king of Prussia, on the 25th of December 1745, shall be observed, on her part, with inviolable fidelity; and that she will not, first, depart from the renunciation of the right she formerly had, to that part of the duchy of Silesia, and to the county of Glatz, which had been yielded up.

But if, contrary to the expectation and common wish of both the contracting parties,

ties, his majesty, the king of Prussia should, first, depart from the said peace whether by hostilely attacking her majesty the Empress queen of Hungary and Bohemia, or her heirs and successors, or her Imperial majesty of all the Russias, or even the republic of Poland; and consequently, in the one or the other of these cases, the said Empress-queen's right to the said part of Silesia, and the county of Glatz, yielded up by the abovementioned peace, and thus, her Imperial majesty's guaranty thereof, renewed by the foregoing first and second articles of this treaty, should again take place, and re-acquire their full force and vigour: both the said high contracting parties have from henceforth, for that space of time, agreed that in such an unexpected case, but not sooner, the said guaranty shall be performed, and completely fulfilled with this additional and most binding promise, that in order to avert the common danger of such an hostile attack, they will immediately enter into the most close and confidential concert; strictly enjoin their respective ministers at foreign courts the same mutual confidence and good understanding, and faithfully to communicate to each other whatever either of them shall discover of the enemy's views, designs or intentions: and lastly, hold in readiness, in the bordering or nearest countries, viz.

Her Roman Imperial majesty, in Bohemia, Moravia, and the adjacent countries of Hungary: and her Russian Imperial majesty in Livonia, Estonia, and other neighbouring places, thirty thousand men at least, namely, twenty thousand foot, and ten thousand horse, in such manner, that whenever the case of an hostile attack from Prussia, upon either of the parties shall exist, the said thirty thousand men may, within two months at farthest, or at the utmost three months, after a previous amicable requisition, march to the assistance of the party attacked.

And whereas it is easy to foresee, that sixty thousand men will not be sufficient, to repel an hostile attack, to re conquer the cessions made by the peace of Dresden, and to secure the public tranquility more effectually for the time to come; the two contracting parties have therefore farther engaged themselves to each other, that in the case aforesaid, not only thirty thousand men, but double that number, viz. Sixty thousand men, that is to say, forty thousand foot and twenty thousand horse, shall be employed for that purpose by each contracting party; and that, the sooner the better; both their said Imperial majesties obliging themselves, to that end, to assemble respectively, the said number of sixty

thousand

thouſand men, as ſpeedily, as the diſtance of the leaſt remote parts, from whence the troops can be drawn, will poſſibly admit. The troops to be appointed for that purpurpoſe, on the part of her Ruſſian Imperial majeſty, ſhall be employed, as well by land as by water, according as the occaſions ſhall then be found moſt proper; but on the part of her Roman Imperial majeſty, they ſhall be employed by land only; in ſuch a manner, that the ſaid troops may in the beginning, as mutual conveniency ſhall allow, and after previous concert, make a diverſion, at one and the ſame time, in the ſaid king of Pruſſia's dominions; and, afterwards, if poſſible, unite and carry on the operations with combined force. But previouſly to ſuch junction, and at the beginning of the diverſion to be undertaken, there ſhall be preſent at each army, a general officer, expreſsly appointed by the two contracting parties, as well for the ſake of counſel, and concert about the execution of the operations, as for giving the neceſſary intelligence, and to be an eye-witneſs of the operations ſo to be executed.

And whereas, in contracting this heartily and well meant engagement, and by ſuch a powerful aſſiſtance to be given, and diverſion to be made, in favour of the Empreſs-queen, (if ſhe ſhould be attacked) her Ruſ-

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ſian Imperial majeſty has not the leaſt intention to make any new conqueſts, upon ſuch an occaſion, or to appropriate them to herſelf; and, as ſhe has likewiſe conſented to employ the aforeſaid ſixty thouſand men, by water as well as by land; and the equipment of a fleet neceſſary thereto will require a great extraordinary expence; which, conſidering the advantage, that may be expected from it, (as the enemy may be more effectually annoyed, and his forces more divided by water than by land) muſt be accounted an army far exceeding the ſixty thouſand men: for theſe reaſons, her majeſty the Empreſs queen of Hungary and Bohemia obliges herſelf, in order the more fully to demonſtrate her gratitude, to pay, within a year, (to be reckoned from the time that Sileſia and Glatz ſhall be again in her poſſeſſion) to her Imperial majeſty of all the Ruſſias two millions of German florins; from which ſum, ſhe ſhall not be entitled to make any deduction, on account of contributions, that may have been raiſed in the enemy's country.

This preſent fourth ſecret ſeparate article ſhall be of the ſame force and effect as if it was inſerted word for word in the defenſive treaty itſelf, and had been ratified at the ſame time. In witneſs whereof the undermen-

mentioned miniſters have ſigned and ſealed this at Peterſburgh, May 22, 1746.

(L. S.) J. F. de Pretlack,

(L. S.) Alexy Comte Beſtucheff Rumin.

(L. S.) N. S. de Hohenholtz.

Numb. III.

Reſolutions and Inſtructions for the Count de Vicedom, *and the Sieur de* Pezold, *at St.* Peterſburgh.

A circumſtantial report having been duly made to the king, of the contents of the laſt diſpatches, dated April 18, 19, and 23d, from his privy counſellor and miniſter plenipotentiary at the Imperial court of Ruſſia, the count de Vicedom, and from his reſident at the ſame court, the privy counſellor of the embaſſy, ſieur de Pezold, brought hither from Peterſburgh, by the courier Conſoli, the 6th of December, and his majeſty having eſpecially taken into conſideration the affair of acceſſion, inſtantly demanded of him by the two Imperial courts, to their new defenſive treaty of alliance and its ſeparate and ſecret articles ſigned at Peterſburgh

tersburgh the 22d May 1746, and afterwards ratified by both parties, his majesty has thought fit to provide the abovesaid two ministers in Russia, with the following heads of resolution and instruction, which are to serve them as a rule to direct their negociation and conduct in this equally important and delicate affair.

1. The high chancellor of Russia having given them to understand, and also intimated the same here by his brother the grand marshal, that the two Imperial courts would be very glad to have the affair of the king's accession treated and concluded preferably at Petersburgh, as being the place where the defensive treaty of alliance in question, renewed between them, was negociated, concluded and signed; his majesty, in order to comply therewith, does for this purpose provide the count de Vicedom and the sieur de Pezold with the annexed full power, together with the clause, *jointly and separately*, to the end that in case of absence, indisposition, or other hindrance of either of them, the other may continue the negociation by conferring nevertheless together and acting in perfect concert.

2. They are to make a merit of this the king's readiness by observing to the high chancellor and the ambassador Pretlack, that it

it is an undoubted proof of his majesty's sincere inclination and attachment to the two empresses, preferably to all other considerations that might induce him to proceed more warily in an affair of this extent and consequence.

3. As the resident Pezold is best acquainted with what passed near two years ago between the two courts, when the king found himself within the case of necessity to claim the assistance of Russia, by virtue of their defensive treaty of alliance renewed against the king of Prussia; and the said resident having been an eye witness of the indifferent, slow, and insufficient manner in which they answered at the court of Petersburgh the reiterated requisitions of his majesty, to which procedure Saxony ought chiefly to attribute its late disasters; he will do well to put the high chancellor count de Bestucheff particularly in mind of it, not so much by way of reproaching him with it, but rather upon the foot of confidential reflections, and to make him acknowledge, that it is indeed a very generous resolution in the king to yield so readily to the desires of the two Imperial courts; and that after what lately happened to him from the Russian court, nothing but his majesty's great confidence in him, the high chancellor, and his

his present credit and power, could so soon have determined him for the accession, in hopes that this principal minister will think of repairing what is past, by taking his measures so well and so early, that the king may hereafter, in case of need, be not only succoured in time and sufficiently, but also that his majesty, on the occasions of reciprocal assistance, may find his account, indemnification, and real advantage.

4. As to the principal treaty between the two Imperial courts, the king is entirely disposed to accede thereto, without any other restriction than that of the number of troops, which they have reciprocally stipulated therein, for the ordinary cases of giving succours; and it is necessary that his majesty's plenipotentiaries propose and insist, that the assistance he is to have, be settled, inthe act of accession, at double the succour promised from the electorate of Saxony, inasmuch as the court of Vienna sends to the king, and maintains at its own charge, in all the cases, the reciprocal succours of 6 and 12000 men.

5 After the count de Vicedom and the sieur Pezold shall have settled this with the two contracting courts, they shall also proceed to treat of the king's accession to the six separate articles, five of which are secret,

ſecret, and require much more reflection and adjuſtment with regard to the king's conveniency.

6. However, as his majeſty, through inclination and zeal for the common intereſt and the public good, is not averſe to cooperate therein as far as poſſible, and in proportion to his forces, his plenipotentiaries muſt take particular care to explain themſelves on this head more ſpecially, with thoſe of the two Imperial courts, to the end that their demands, and the king's condeſcenſion in each article, may be combined with his majeſty's intereſt.

7. There being among the articles, ſome points of engagements which properly concern none but the two Imperial courts principally contracting; they ſhall endeavour to obtain that the king be not included therein, or that they be attempered for his majeſty, as alſo that every future war in Italy be accepted, as it is already in the treaty with the court of Vienna.

8. The firſt and fourth of the ſecret articles being the moſt difficult and onerous, if the king accedes to them in their ſenſe and extent, the two Imperial courts cannot take it amiſs that his majeſty deſires, beſides more proportion in the engagements, that

they may contain reciprocal conditions and advantages.

9. As to the first secret article, which concerns the guaranty of the grand duke of Russia's possessions, as duke of Holstein-Slesvick, and of his ducal house, the empress of Russia will be pleased to consider how tenderly and cautiously the king must behave towards the court of Denmark, on account of his affinity and right of eventual succession; and therefore the said sovereign as well as the Empress-queen, and even the emperor her consort, will not, in return, refuse the king and his posterity the guaranty of the succession to the throne of Denmark, which in time may fall to a prince of the electoral house of Saxony.

10. In fine, as to the fourth article, which regards eventual and stronger measures against a new, sudden, and unexpected attack from the king of Prussia, the king acknowledges therein the prudent forecast of the two empresses, in thinking beforehand how to concert matters together and powerfully assist one another, if, contrary to better expectations, and notwithstanding their scrupulous attention to observe their treaties with the said prince, the latter should invade the dominions of either of them; and in this case the king is ready enough to concur

concur in the ſame meaſures: but as he is the moſt expoſed to the reſentment of ſo formidable and reſtleſs a neighbour, witneſs the ſad experiment his majeſty has lately had of it, their Imperial majeſties cannot think it ſtrange that the king, before entering into ſuch a new, eventual, and extenſive engagement, ſhould take better precautions, as well for his ſecurity and mutual defence, as for his being indemnified, and recompenſed in proportion to his efforts and the progreſs made againſt ſuch an aggreſſor.

11. To this end the count de Vicedom and the ſieur Pezold ſhall aſk the Imperial miniſters plenipotentiaries, 1. What number of troops, in ſuch a caſe, their ſovereigns deſire of the king: and, in return, with how many each of them will aſſiſt him? And 2dly, That this ſuccour deſired of the king be not diſproportionate to the ſtrength of his army. 3. That the two Imperial courts muſt promiſe double the number to the king. 4. That the two empreſſes muſt each engage to keep at leaſt ſuch a body of their troops in a moveable condition and ready to march to the aſſiſtance of his majeſty, one upon the frontiers of Pruſſia, and the other in Bohemia. 5. That they likewiſe oblige themſelves to let the king come in for a ſhare of the priſoners, ſpoils, and

conquests, they shall make jointly, or separately, on the aggressor, and thereby the common enemy.

12. With respect to this last point, and the partition of the conquests to be made, the king's ministers plenipotentiaries are to ask the Russian minister what his sovereign's offers are; and to declare, relatively to the Empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, that supposing this princess were attacked again by the king of Prussia, and should not only recover Silesia and the county of Glatz, but likewise succeed in reducing that aggressor within narrower bounds, the king of Poland, as elector of Saxony, would abide by the partition stipulated between her and his majesty by the convention signed at Leipsic the 18th of May 1745, a copy of which the resident Pezold received enclosed in a letter from the ministry of the 14th of November following; excepting the third degree of partition defined therein, with which his majesty cannot be satisfied; since in case the Empress-queen should be able to conquer, besides the county of Glatz and all Silesia, no more than the principality of Crossen with the circle of Zullichau, and the fiefs of Bohemia possessed by the king of Prussia in Lusatia, it would be necessary to grant eventually to the king, elector of Saxony

Saxony, a more considerable share in those conquests than the said principality, the circle and the fiefs: his majesty will wait for the offers of the court of Vienna on this head, and will order the count de Loos to negotiate thereupon, wishing only that the Russian court would use its good offices to obtain, in this case, a better partition for the king from the Empress-queen, and then secure and guaranty to his majesty the acquisition thereof.

13. The count de Vicedom, and the sieur Pezold are to take *ad referendum* all that may be said to them in answer to the premises, and not to conclude any thing, until, in consequence of their reports, they shall be authorised to do it by the king's final orders and resolutions.

14. The rest is left to their prudence, and dexterity, and zeal for the service, interest, and glory of his majesty, who assures them of his protection and good graces, whilst they apply themselves to fulfil, with all the exactness they are capable of, the points of this instruction. Written at Dresden the 23d of May, 1747.

(L. S.) AUGUSTUS R.
C. de Br.
de Walther.

Numb. IV.

Memorial presented by the Saxon *Ministers at* Petersburg *the* $\frac{4}{25}$ September, 1747.

In the conference held with us the underwritten, the 8th and 19th instant, we have indeed already exhibited our full powers, as also the declarations and conditions upon which his majesty the king of Poland, our most gracious master, as elector of Saxony, is ready to accede to the defensive treaty of alliance concluded between the two Imperial courts at Petersburg the 22d of May, 1746, as also to the secret and separate articles of the same treaty, according to the orders and instructions we have received on this head.

But as their excellencies the ministers of the Imperial courts, impowered to confer with us, were desirous of having something from us in writing, we would not fail to give the following summary.

I. His Polish majesty very readily and gratefully acknowledges the friendship which the two Imperial courts have been pleased to shew him, in communicating to him the said treaty, with the separate and secret articles, and inviting him to accede thereto; but,

but, at the ſame time, he flatters himſelf, that having ſo many important reaſons to abſtain in the preſent criſis from all new engagements, the two high contracting parties will look upon the facility, which his majeſty expreſſes on this occaſion, as a freſh proof of his ſincere friendſhip and perfect confidence, and that they will be thereby ſo much the more inclined to ſettle the ſaid acceſſion on ſuch a foot, that his majeſty may not only be aſſiſted without loſs of time, and ſufficiently, whenever the caſe exiſts, but that he may likewiſe have a ſuitable indemnification and real advantages for his reciprocal and real concurrence.

II. In this confidence his majeſty is ready to accede purely to the body of the treaty, adding thereto this reſtriction only, That, in return for the number of auxiliary troops which his majeſty, as elector of Saxony, ſhall oblige himſelf to furniſh, the two Imperial courts do ſtipulate double the number for him, according to the example ſet in the engagements already ſubſiſting between him and her majeſty the Empreſs-queen of Hungary and Bohemia. As for the particular number of troops to be furniſhed by our court, we have orders to wait on this head the firſt overtures from the two high contracting parties. However we think, ſeeing

ſeeing the proportion of ſuccours which ſhould be mutually furniſhed in the ordinary caſes, on which the body of the treaty turns, is already determined by the treaties which his majeſty has already made with the two courts; one might alſo abide by it in the preſent acceſſion, and be content with making this ſerve to confirm preceding engagements.

III. Circumſtances being very different with reſpect to the ſeperate and ſecret articles, the firſt and fourth of which eſpecially deſerve a much more ſerious attention; we are inſtructed, as to the firſt article, which regards the guaranty of the preſent poſſeſſions of his Imperial highneſs the grand duke of Ruſſia, as duke of Holſtein-Schleſwick, in Germany, to repreſent the great care and caution with which his majeſty is obliged to manage in regard to the court of Denmark, in conſideration of the ties of blood, and of the eventual ſucceſſion that is due to him; and to propoſe, for this reaſon, that, in return for the ſaid guaranty which his majeſty is to take upon himſelf, he ſhould have the guaranty of the two high contractiug parties, as alſo that of the Emperor, for the abovementioned right of eventual ſucceſſion to the throne of Denmark,

mark, and that this right be in the mean time acknowledged.

IV. As for the fourth article, his majesty entirely approves of the wise and efficacious measures which the Imperial courts have eventually taken, in case that his majesty the king of Prussia, notwithstanding the exact observation of the peace concluded with him, should again attack in a hostile manner the dominions of either party, and he is ready to concur therein. But as his majesty has many more reasons than the two Imperial courts to think maturely of it, and ought above all things to consider, that according to the sad experience he has lately had, the king of Prussia took a pretext from the succours he was obliged to furnish her majesty the Empress-queen of Hungary and Bohemia, to declare war against him; that, moreover, the electorate of Saxony is by its situation so much exposed to his resentment, that, if it were not immediately assisted, it could not possibly withstand, by its own forces, such sudden attacks as have been executed by the king of Prussia; and, in fine, if provision be not first made for the security and preservation of the said electorate, the two high contracting parties would themselves be infinitely prejudiced by the ruin of this state. In consequence of these considerations,

tions, his majesty flatters himself that the two high contracting parties themselves will acknowledge the necessity and justice of the conditions and modifications which we are charged to propose, *viz.* 1. That the number of auxiliary troops, which they shall require of his majesty, be not disproportionate to the strength of his army. 2. That each of the two Imperial courts promise double that number to his majesty; and, if this were not sufficient, that the succour be yet farther increased. 3. That the two Empresses do each of them engage to keep, at least, such a body of their troops in a condition to move, and in a readiness to march to his majesty's assistance, on the one side on the frontiers of Prussia, and on the other in Bohemia. 4. That these bodies of troops do make a diversion in the countries nearest at hand, the moment that the territories of Saxony shall be attacked, or war declared against the electorate; and this must be done without requiring the formality of a previous concert, notwithstanding what is stipulated on this head in the body of the treaty, as well as in the secret article. 5. That in case one of the two Imperial courts should be attacked, his majesty be not obliged to commence the operations before the other Imperial court has effec-

effectively begun to act, in order to avert the effect of the enemy's superiority, or at least till the evident danger of being suddenly crushed ceases. 6. That, in consequence of the 10th article of the treaty, they make his majesty partake not only of the booty and the prisoners, but also of the conquests that may be made on the enemy. And, in fine, 7. 'That as her majesty the empress has declared, in the 4th secret article, that in the case of sending succours, or making a diversion, she had no design to make new conquests, and consequently it will be indifferent to her how his majesty agrees with the court of Vienna about the eventual partition and a proper indemnification; her said Imperial majesty of Russia would therefore be pleased to approve this convention beforehand, and take upon her to guaranty it.'

As to the fifth separate article, and the second, third, and fifth secret articles, his majesty's accession to these articles must of course be out of the question; because, on the one hand, the said articles turn upon engagements which concern none but the two Imperial courts; and on the other hand, because, in not communicating to his majesty the most secret article alledged in the third secret article, they have themselves

ſelves thereby given to underſtand, that the king's concurrence in thoſe engagements is not required; and that for the reſt, they will abide by what has been anteriorly ſtipulated in the treaties ſubſiſting between his majeſty and each of the Imperial courts. But as in the third and fifth ſecret articles, they have again repeated the exception to the *Caſus Fœderis* already laid down in the treaty itſelf, with regard to future wars in Italy, and have added thereto, that, on the part of the Empreſs-queen, the preſent war with the houſe of Bourbon, and on the part of her majeſty the empreſs of Ruſſia, an hoſtile aggreſſion on her empire from the ſide of the North, are not to be deemed as caſes that may prevent what has been ſtipulated in the 4th ſecret article, with reſpect to a rupture on the part of Pruſſia; therefore the two high contracting parties will not refuſe to include his majeſty likewiſe in this ſtipulation.

Finally, the king doubts not but the Imperial courts will take all theſe propoſitions as ſo many proofs of his equity, his confidence, and his ſincere friendſhip; and he flatters himſelf ſo much the more with the hope of receiving a favourable anſwer, as he has deſerved, by the calamities he has incurred for the common cauſe, that for the

the future his safety and indemnification should be proportionably better provided for. We the under-written wait for the said declaration and answer, in order to proceed further in the affair of the accession.

St. Petersburgh, the $\frac{14}{25}$ Sept. 1747.

Lewis Sigefroy, Count Vitzhum d'Eckstadt.

John Sigismund de Pezold.

Numb. V.

Dispatch from the King of Poland *to the Count de* Loos *at* Vienna, *dated* Dec. 21, 1747.

You will no doubt remember, that, as soon as the two Imperial courts of Vienna and Petersburgh gave me an invitation, by the counts of Esterhasy and Bestucheff, to accede to the treaty of defensive alliance renewed between the two Empresses, the 22d of May, 1746, I had caused full information to be given you of the instructions on that head sent to my ministers plenipotentiaries at the Russian court, where it was agreed that the affair of my accession should be treated of. It was on the 23d of May last that I ordered this to be imparted to you; and finding that the court where you

reſide delayed communicating to you the treaty in queſtion; in the month of July following I ordered a copy of it to be ſent to you, together with all the ſeparate and ſecret articles, which had been communicated to me by the Imperial miniſters here, in conſequence of their joint invitation. My miniſters at Peterſburgh, after having declared, in general terms, my favourable diſpoſition towards the acceſſion, and produced their full powers, always kept themſelves in readineſs to enter upon buſineſs with the miniſters authoriſed for that purpoſe by the two empreſſes, but had no opportunity to do it ſooner than the $\frac{8}{19}$ of September laſt at a conference; and having then been deſired to give their overtures in writing, they did ſo by a *pro memoria* ſigned the $\frac{14}{25}$ of September, a copy of which (marked A is hereunto annexed.

" Whereas, until the two Imperial courts make an anſwer thereto by their miniſters at Peterſburgh, and before I do, in conſequence of it, come to a final determination in regard to my act of acceſſion, it behoves me to come to a right underſtanding with the Empreſs-queen about the eventual partition which is to fall to my ſhare, in caſe that princeſs, attacked again, contrary to better expectations, by the king of Pruſſia, ſhould,

ſhould, by the concurrence of my aſſiſtance, make ſpoils and conqueſts on him, as it is more at large explained in the 12th article of the inſtructions abovementioned, which my miniſters at Peterſburgh were provided with the 23d of May, of the preſent year; I charge you with this negotiation, and authoriſe you by the preſent order, and my intention is, that as my convention, ſigned at Leipſick, the 18th of May, 1745, with the queen of Hungary, a copy of which, (marked B) you will find hereunto annexed, may ſerve as an eventual partition hereafter, excepting the third degree, or in caſe the court of Vienna ſhould be able to recover, beſides the county of Glatz, only all Sileſia, with the principality of Croſſen, the circle of Zullichau, and the fiefs of Bohemia, which the king of Pruſſia holds in Luſatia, you muſt demand for me, of the Empreſs-queen, a more conſiderable ſhare in thoſe conqueſts than the ſaid principality, circle, and fiefs, and inſiſt upon that princeſs's making me an offer of it, that I may then ſee whether it would ſuit my conveniency to acquieſce in it." In making the overture of this my demand to the Empreſs-queen and to her miniſters of confidence, you will ſhew them how juſt and equitable it is, that a more advantageous lot ſhould

be granted me, in order to indemnify me for the unhappy fate and the losses I have met with, for having formerly assisted her Imperial majesty with all my forces. On your successive reports of the progress of your negociation, I shall send you further orders, praying in the mean time God, &c. Done at Dresden, the 21st Dec. 1747.

AUGUSTUS R.
C. de Bruhl.

To the minister of conference and of state, count de Looss, at Vienna.

Numb. VI.

Extract of the Advice of his Polish *Majesty's Privy Council, about the Accession to the Treaty of* Petersburgh; *given the* 15*th of* August, 1747.

We are likewise of opinion, that the fourth secret article exceeds the usual rules; because it is therein declared, that not only the case of an hostile aggression on the part of his Prussian majesty against her majesty the Empress-queen, but also the case of the like aggression against the Russian empire, or against the republic of Poland, is to be considered as a violation of the peace of Dresden, and must give her majesty the Empress-queen a right to recover the dutchy of

of Silesia and the county of Glatz. If your majesty should approve of that stipulation by your accession, our apprehensions from his Prussian majesty would greatly increase, and we should thereby acknowledge the principle, which on other occasions we have always opposed, viz. "That an auxiliary potentate is to be considered on the same foot as the belligerant power, &c."

Numb. VII.

Extract of the Advice of his Polish *Majesty's Privy-Council.* Sept. 17, 1748.

It has been stipulated in the secret article, that not only the case of the king of Prussia's attacking her majesty the Empress-queen, but also every aggression against the Russian empire, or against the republic of Poland, is to be looked upon as a violation of the peace of Dresden.

If then your majesty should approve by your accession, *a principle so repugnant to the ordinary rules*, the king of Prussia, should he come to hear of it, might charge you with a violation of the treaty of Dresden, &c.

Numb. VIII.

Extract of a Postscript from Count de Bruhl *to Count de* Loos *at* Paris, *dated* Dresden, June 12, 1747.

As to the two points mentioned in your excellency's letter of the 8th *D. c.* concerning which you desire the king's orders; I am to tell you in his majesty's name, that though the pretending to require such a declaration be a little extraordinary, the king nevertheless permits your excellency to give a declaration, in order to assure, that the treaty in question contains nothing more than what is inserted in the German copy, which has been communicated, and that we know nothing of any separate or secret article; but supposing likewise that any such articles existed, that they were communicated to us, and that we were invited to accede to them in like manner, France might be sure that we would not enter into any engagement that might tend to give her offence, or that might be any way contrary to our engagements with that crown.

Numb.

Numb. IX.

Declaration of Count de Looſs *to the* French *Miniſtry*, 1747.

The underwritten ambaſſador extraordinary from his majeſty the king of Poland, elector of Saxony, is authoriſed to declare in the name of the king his maſter, that the treaty between the court of Vienna and that of Peterſburgh, to which his majeſty has been invited to accede, contains nothing more than what is found in the German copy, which the ambaſſador abovementioned has had the honour to deliver to the marquis de Puyzieux; nor has any ſeparate or ſecret article been communicated to the king of Poland by the aboveſaid courts. To which he is ordered to add, that in caſe ſuch ſeparate or ſecret article exiſted, and his Poliſh majeſty ſhould be invited to accede thereto; in ſuch caſe his ſaid majeſty would do nothing that might have a tendency to offend the moſt Chriſtian king, or be any way inconſiſtent with the engagements that ſubſiſt between the king of Poland and his moſt Chriſtian majeſty by the treaty concluded between them the 21ſt April 1749. In witneſs whereof I have ſigned this declaration, and put the ſeal of my

my arms thereto. Done at the camp of the grand commandery, &c.

Numb. X.

Extract of the Instructions given to General Arnim *for his Mission to* Petersburgh, *dated* Feb. 19, 1750.

After this general Arnim may insinuate, that they must remember in what manner his majesty had long since declared by his ministers at Petersburgh, the count de Vicedom and the sieur de Pezold, his inclination to accede to the treaty of Petersburgh of the 22d of May 1746; and that it had been found that the question *An* was so closely linked with the question *Quomodo*, that the one could not be decided without the other.

That in the negociation about the question *Quomodo*, all sorts of difficulties had occurred, as appears more at large by the memorial af the Russian ministry dated the 3d of January 1748, in answer to the memorial of the king's ministers of the $\frac{14}{25}$ September 1747. But that his majesty flattered himself, from the friendship of her majesty the empress of Russia, and the good intentions of the Russian minstry, that nothing beyond his faculties would be required of him

him, and that his accession would be no otherwise demanded than upon condition, that he should not be charged with any thing that he was not capable of performing; that on the other hand, the two Imperial courts should promise him, in case of an hostile invasion of his partrimonial dominions in Germany, a speedy, sure, and sufficient assistance, by means of two armies to be always kept ready on the respective frontiers, which might be able to succour him immediately, or to make a diversion according to the exigency of the case; *and in fine, that the share he is to have in the advantages that may be gained by good success in war, be positively determined.*

XI.

Memorial delivered to Count de Keyserling, *the* Russian *Minister at* Dresden, *the 26th* June, 1756.

The king has not hesitated to declare already verbally to his excellency the count de Keyserling, the good dispositions his majesty is in, relatively to the definitive treaty of alliance and guaranty concluded at Petersburgh the 22d May 1746, between their Imperial majesties the empress of Russia and the Empress queen of Hungary and Bohemia

mia, to which treaty the king has been invited to accede.

This declaration, together with all that has been intimated at the same time to the said Russian minister, must still be fresh in his memory.

As we expressly reiterate here the same friendly declaration, which, among other salutary views, tends chiefly to prove his majesty's high consideration for their Imperial majesties and the other allies, and the value he sets on their friendship; so his majesty doubts not in the least, considering the so frequently reiterated assurances of the precious friendship of her majesty the empress of Russia, but that she will, in return, on occasion of the accession in question, previously and sufficiently provide for the safety of his majesty's hereditary dominions, and get the other allies to do the same.

In expectation of this, his majesty will speedily send the necessary instructions to his minister at the Russian court, for proceeding further in the matter, and bringing the negociation in question to a happy issue.

And of this we would not fail to apprize his excellency count de Keyserling, that he may impart the same to his court, &c.

Dresden, June 26, 1753.

C. de Bruhl.

Numb.

Numb. XII.

Extract of a Letter from Count de Flemming, *to Count de Bruhl, dated from* Vienna, Feb. 28, 1753.

Pursuant to the dispatch which your excellency honoured me with the 19th D. c. I have expressed to count d'Uhlefeld, the king our master's satisfaction at the clear and precise declaration of her majesty the Empress-queen on the agnition of the treaty which subsists between the two courts, and on the application to the case in question relating to the king of Prussia.

I added at the same time, that it would be proper, and the king my master expected it, that in imitation of Russia, they would likewise eventually authorise the respective ministers, who reside at the courts principally interested in maintaining peace, to declare in due time, and supposing there should seem to be a necessity for it (before which we ourselves would not demand it) with what eye the Imperial courts would look upon any insult or wrong that might be done us by the king of Prussia.

Count d'Uhlefeld made answer, that there would be no difficulty about the orders to be

be sent on this head to their ministers, if we required it; but that he desired me again to consider, of what use such a declaration could be to us, and what impression it might make on the king of Prussia, when given in the treaty 1743, considering the insufficiency of the succour therein stipulated: that he charged me to represent again, on this occasion, to my court, that they could not take measures enough against the ambitious views of the king of Prussia; and that Saxony especially, as being the most exposed, could not use too many precautions to guard against him: "That it was therefore highly necessary to strengthen our old engagements, on the foot proposed by the late count de Harrach in 1745. That this might be done on occasion of our accession to the treaty of Petersburgh, or in any other manner which to us should appear most convenient for our safety, and the fittest for keeping it secret:" that he thought there was no time to be lost, for putting themselves in a good posture of defence, as it appeared to him that the present situation of affairs absolutely required the allied courts to unite closer than ever, and that each of them should look upon the interests of his ally as his own, and, to use his own expressions, THAT ALL SHOULD

ANSWER

ANSWER FOR EACH ONE, AND EACH ONE FOR ALL.

Numb. XIII.

Extract of a Letter from Count Bruhl *to Count* Flemming *at* Vienna, *dated at* Dresden, March 8, 1753

I make use at the same time of the excursion of Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, and this safe opportunity, to communicate to you a report of the privy council of the 3d D. c. containing the sentiments of that council concerning more extensive engagements, to which the court of Vienna invites us, on occasion of our approaching accession to the Russian treaty. This communication is to be of no other use to you, than to inform you, in what light the thing is viewed, and what difficulties are found in it. But, besides, the king does not like the expedient proposed, to insert at first, in our act of accession, the reciprocal engagement of assisting one another with all our forces, Nevertheless his majesty is not averse ro come to an understanding hereafter, under the utmost secrecy, with the court of Vienna, about such a succour, by private and confidental declarations, relative to the fourth

ſecret article of the treaty of Peterſburgh, by means of juſt conditions and advantages, which, in this caſe, muſt alſo be granted to us, and in regard to which you may take *ad referendum* whatever they may pleaſe to propoſe to you. I am previouſly of opinion, that what was promiſed by the Empreſs-queen's declaration of the 3d May 1745, may ſerve for the baſis

Numb. XIV.

Extract of a Diſpatch from Count de Vicedom *to Count de* Bruhl, *dated* St. Peterſburgh, April 18, 1747.

I have the honour to acquaint your excellency, that Pretlach has told me in confidence, that, at a ſecret interview which he has had with the empreſs and the high-chancellor, he had found means, by confidential communications from his court, relative to divers ſecret practices of that prince, diſadvantageous to her Imperial majeſty, to inſpire her with ſentiments that have carried her enmity to the higheſt degree, inſomuch that this ambaſſador imagines, there wants but a very ſmall matter more to make her anger break out into ſome hoſtile act &c.

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I have therefore begun to addreſs myſelf to the ambaſſador Pretlach, after having given him a detail of all the advantages that may reſult from our friendly proceedings for his court, and even for that of Ruſſia, by procuring an accommodation with France, by which the Empreſs-queen may be more able to make head againſt the king of Pruſſia, &c.

Numb XV.

Tranſlation of a Letter from the Secretary of the Embaſſy, Weingarten, *to Count* d'Uhleſeld. Berlin, Auguſt 24, 1748.

The day before yeſterday a courier from the earl of Hyndford paſſed through here, and brought me a diſpatch from count de Bernes, which gives me and count de Keyſerling great light into the military preparations in this country, ſince C. Bernes writes that the French and Pruſſian party in Sweden are ſtrenuouſly labouring to procure abſolute power for the prince-ſucceſſor: that, on account of theſe circumſtances, it was wiſhed that the Empreſs's journey to Moſcow could be prevented; and as nobody could more contribute towards it than the count de Keyſerling, conſidering the preparations and dangerous deſigns of the court of

Berlin, he was to ſpirit up this miniſter for that purpoſe. The latter being already ſufficiently prejudiced againſt this court, I found no difficulty in carrying my point; for yeſterday he gave me a reading of his relation, drawn up according to the count de Bernes's wiſhes, and promiſed me to continue in that ſtrain every week.

Numb. XVI.

Letter from Count de Bernes *to Count de la* Puebla. Peterſburgh, Dec. 12, 1749.

I venture, under the ſeal of the greateſt ſecrecy, to make you the following requeſt. It is deſired that you would get it whiſpered te M. de Groſs, the Ruſſian miniſter, but with ſo much precaution that it may never be ſuſpected it comes from you, that ſome machinations are carrying on in Sweden againſt the Empreſs's perſon, in which the Pruſſian court has a good ſhare; and as the ſaid miniſter, probably, will not fail to make you a confident in this diſcovery, you are deſired to anſwer him, that as you know nothing of it, you will ſearch into it; and afterwards you are to confirm it to him as a thing that you have found out upon enquiry.

Numb.

Numb. XVII.

Tranſlated Extract of the inſtruction given to General Arnim. Dreſden, Feb. 19, 1750.

General Arnim muſt alſo take care to keep up in the Empreſs, and in her well-intentioned miniſters, a jealouſy of the Pruſſian power, its aggrandizement, and the abuſe that is made of it; and of conſequence he muſt not fail to commend aud applaud the attention, and all the meaſures with which the Empreſs may oppoſe it &c.

Numb. XVIII.

Tranſlated Extract of a Letter from the Sieur de Funck *to Count de* Bruhl. St. PeterſburghDec. 6, 1753.

In relating the motives which he (Funck) and baron Pretlach, miniſter from Vienna, had alledged to the Ruſſian miniſters, for keeping always a powerful army on the frontiers of Pruſſia, he ſays he repreſented to them, among other things:

" That this precaution was ſo much the " more neceſſary, conſidering the notorious " views of the courts of France, Pruſſia,

" and Sweden, in case of a vacancy in the
" throne of Poland, as the king of Prussia
" would not then delay executing his de-
" signs upon Polish Prussia, and on the
" mouth of the Vistula———

" That they should follow the example
" of the king of Prussia, who does not re-
" gret any expences that may render him
" more formidable, and has lately formed
" three new regiments more: that the court
" of Russia need not fear being abandoned
" by her allies, whenever she comes to
" blows: that they know too well their own
" interest, &c.

Numb. XIX.

Translated Extract of a Dispatch from Count de Bruhl *to the Sieur* Funck *at* Petersburgh, Feb. 6, 1754.

I doubt not but the court of Russia is already informed of the different movements and arrangements which the king of Prussia is making in the kingdom of that name, with the greatest celerity and the utmost secrecy, with respect to trade, the coin, and especially military preparations. I likewise hope, that court will be the more attentive thereto, as those preparations have been

been ſpecially obſerved aſter the great augmentation of troops which the empreſs of Ruſſia lately ordered to be made in her adjacent provinces, and that they ſeem to be in conſequence thereof. I have, however, thought fit to communicate to you the advices on this head, which we have ſucceſſively received, to the end that you may make uſe of them in your conferences with the miniſtry where you reſide. We are very attentive thereto, as we are no ſtrangers to the king of Pruſſia's great deſire to intermeddle in the domeſtic affairs of Poland; that his projects to ruin the commerce of Poland, and particularly that of Dantzick, become every day more and more manifeſt; and that his views to aggrandize himſelf on that ſide, are certainly one of the moſt pleaſing objects of his ſchemes.

Count Brulh's diſpatch of the 13th of February, 1754, contains nothing but a detail of the military preparations which the king was making in Pruſſia.

Extract

Extract of a Letter from the Sieur de Funck *to Count de* Bruhl, June 30*th*, 1754.

According to the report of the envoy, M. de Groſs, your excellency yourſelf has informed him that ſeven new Pruſſian regiments are ſoon to be raiſed. Your excellency is thanked for this ſervice, and at the ſame time aſſured, that a good uſe will certainly be made of it, as alſo of all other intelligence of this nature.

Numb. XX.

Tranſlated Extract of a Diſpatch from Count de Bruhl *to the Sieur* Funck. Warſaw, July 28, 1754.

The deſigns which ſome ill-intentioned powers are hatching in regard to Courland, diſcloſe themſelves; beſides other tokens and preparations, by the public Gazettes of Berlin, which ſometimes announce the death of the unhappy duke, and ſometimes his deſperate ſtate of health, in order thus to prepare the public for future events, *&c.*

Numb.

Numb. XXI.

Translated Extract of a Dispatch from Count de Bruhl *to the Sieur* Funck. Warsaw, August 2, 1754.

Speaking of the umbrage taken by the Porte at the fortress which the Russian court was building on the frontiers of Turky, he adds:

"As the courts of France and Prussia "have hitherto constantly laboured to draw "the Ottoman Porte into a war against "Russia, this affair would throw a fine "game into their hands; the king of Prus-"sia would then no longer delay pulling "off the mask, and manifesting the design "of his continual armaments; in which "case Courland might possibly become the "first sacrifice to his ambition."

Numb. XXII.

Translated Extract of a Dispatch from Count de Bruhl *to the Sieur* Funck, *dated* Dec. 1. 1754.

I cannot conceal from you a piece of intelligence I have received, concerning a new project of the king of Prussia, to facili-

tate

tate his views of aggrandizement. It is known that that prince has long been endeavouring to bring the courts of Sweden and Denmark into his interest. Having failed in the overture he made in Denmark, on occasion of prolonging the subsidiary treaty between that court and France, he is now thinking of other methods to fix the said court in his interest.

The birth of the young grand duke of Russia must have appeared to him a favourable opportunity to gain that end: for as he imagines that after this event, which secures the succession in the dutchy of Holstein, the negociation for exchanging that dutchy against the county of Oldenburgh will meet with more difficulties, and that the king of Denmark would not, without great reluctance, drop a project which would give his dominions the compactness he so much desires: 'tis pretended that he has proposed another plan to the Danish court, in order to succeed in his views. We have not yet been able to find out the nature of this plan, nor in what manner he has promised to back it, whether it tends to make use even of violent means, and what he would stipulate for himself in return. However, my advices make me conjecture,

jecture, that he has not forgot in this project the pretext of the Greek religion, which the Grand Duke has embraced, and which is not one of the religions tolerated in the Empire; and that he flatters himself, by this means, to engage therein the Empire, and the guarantees of the peace of Westphalia.

Though I pretend not to be any way positive in regard to this project, which, after all, agrees so well with the genius of the king of Prussia; and though I am likewise of opinion, that the court of Denmark will not be the dupe of it; the bare idea of such a project does nevertheless seem important enough for you to impart it in confidence to the Russian ministry, but still with the necessary caution, *&c.*

Numb. XXIII.

Translated Extract of a Letter from the Sieur de Funck *to Count de* Bruhl. Petersburgh, June 9, 1755.

It would be doing good service to the common cause, if a friendly hint were given

to

to M. de Groſs, that he ſhould mention in general terms, in one of his reports, merely to afford occaſion for inſinuating it dexterouſly to the Empreſs, that the king of Pruſſia muſt have found out a channel in Courland to get exact information of the ſecrets of this court, *&c.*

Numb. XXIV.

Tranſlated Extract of a Diſpatch from Count de Bruhl *to M.* Funck, *dated* July 23, 1755.

In acknowledging the receipt of your diſpatch of the 30th paſt, I ſhall tell you I have not failed to diſcharge, in regard to M. de Groſs, the commiſſion contained in your letter of the 9th paſt. He received with thankfulneſs the advice that was given him, that nothing could render him more acceptable to his court, than making in his reports frequent and artful mention of the pernicious views and artifices of the Pruſſians, which are but too true; and he will not fail to profit of this counſel.

Numb

Numb. XXV.

Extract of a Letter from the Sieur Funck *to Count de* Bruhl, Petersburgh, Oct. 20, 1755.

What I can positively say, concerning the object of the deliberations of the last grand council, consists in this: That, in taking for their basis the known result of the grand council at Moscow, they have again laid it down as a fundamental maxim for time to come, to oppose with all their forces the farther aggrandizement of the house of Brandenburgh, and for this purpose to put themselves in so good a posture, that they may take advantage of the first opportunity that shall offer; "and they are resolved to attack the king of Prussia without any ulterior discussion, not only in the case of this prince's attacking any of the allies of this court; but this is likewise to take place, if the king of Prussia should be attacked by one of the said allies of this court." To this end, they will erect magazines for an hundred thousand men at Riga, Mittau, Liebau, and Windau; and they have found for this service a fund of two millions and a half of roubles, and another annual fund of a million and a half to maintain these arrangements.

Numb. XXVI.

Extract of a Dispatch from Count de Bruhl *to Secretary* Prasse *at* Petersburgh, June 2, 1756.

As to the secret commission for transmitting to Petersburg, by concealed means, advice of the Prussian machinations in the Ukraine, we are yet in search of a good and safe channel; and they shall very soon perceive, in some shape or other, the effect of my personal inclination to second so good, though somewhat artful, an intention.

Numb. XXVII.

Extract of a letter from Count de Flemming *to Count de* Bruhl, Vienna, June — 1756.

I am further to add, that count Keyserling has been enjoined, by the last rescript, to spare neither pains nor money to come at an exact knowledge of the state of the revenues of this court. It is likely that they want to be informed of it, in order to know exactly, whether this court can easily support, by its own funds, and without the assistance of England, the charges

charges of a war; and whether it can, besides, furnish subsidies, &c.

From the same, dated June 9.

There is reason to presume, that it has been concerted between the two Imperial courts of Vienna and Russia, that the latter, the better to mask the true reasons of her armament, should do it under the apparent pretext of thereby keeping herself in a condition to fulfil her engagements contracted in the last subsidiary convention with England, in case of need; and when all the preparations are finished, then to fall suddenly upon the king of Prussia, &c.

From the same, dated June 9.

By the general and obscure overtures which a certain minister has made to the sieur Prasse, touching the armament of Russia, and which your excellency has been pleased to communicate to me by the said dispatch; I have remarked that that minister begins to grow more reserved and mysterious about the intentions of his court. This reserve seems to me conformable to that which is practised here, where they also only give one to understand, that they have no other design than to remain quiet, and prepare

in the mean time against any event that may happen in the present juncture, &c.

Numb. XXVIII.

Vienna, July 28, 1756.

Letter from Count Flemming *to Count de* Bruhl.

Monsieur,

Monsieur Klingræff received last Saturday an express from his court, in consequence of which he sent a note the next morning to count de Kaunitz, earnestly entreating him to appoint an hour for a conference with him. This note was delivered to the chancellor of state, just while he was in conference with the marshals Neuperg and Brown, and general prince Piccolomini. And as he intended to wait upon the Empress queen immediately after the conference, in order to make her a report thereof, he sent word to M. Klingræff, that he was indeed obliged to go to Schœnbrunn, but nevertheless he would be obliged to him if he would hasten to him that very instant; which the Prussian minister did not fail to do. Count de Kaunitz told me in confidence, at a conversation I had with him

him yesterday morning, that M. Klingræff, on his accosting him, gave him to understand, with a certain embarrassment mixed with uneasiness, that he had just received an express from his court, who brought him some orders, the contents of which he was to lay before the Empress-queen in person, and for this purpose he was enjoined to demand a private audience of her Imperial majesty, which he desired he would be pleased to procure for him. That he, count Kaunitz, made answer, that being just ready to set out for Schœnbrunn, he willingly took upon him to demand the audience he desired; but could not avoid letting him understand, that it was proper he should be enabled at least, in general terms, to give the empress previous notice of the nature of the insinuations he had orders to make to her majesty. Whereupon M. de Klingræff told him, that he was charged to demand amicably, and by way of eclaircissement, in the name of the king his master, what was the tendency of the armaments and military preparations making here, and whether they might not, perhaps, concern him; which, however, he could not imagine, as he did not know that he had given the least occasion for them. That he, Kaunitz, replied, that he could not

just then make any answer to that overture; that he would not fail to make a report thereof immediately to the empress, and procure him the audience he requested: that, nevertheless, he could not forbear telling him, that he was surprised at the explanation which the king his master required concerning the measures taken in this country, seeing this court had expressed no uneasiness or umbrage at the great movements and preparations which had been previously observed in his army. This minister farther told me, " That having set out immediately after for Schœnbrunn, he had reflected by the way on the answer he should advise his sovereign to give M. Klingræff; and having thought he perceived that the king of Prussia had two objects in view, which this court was desirous equally to avoid, viz. to come to conferences and eclaircissements, that might at first cause a suspicion of the measures which they judged necessary to be continued vigorously; and secondly, to lead matters further on, to other propositions and more essential engagements; he had therefore judged that the answer ought to be of such a nature as might entirely elude the king of Prussia's question; and that, in leaving no more room for further explanations, it should at the same time be resolute and

and polite, without being ſuſceptible of any interpretation either ſiniſter or favourable. That purſuant to this notion, it appeared to him ſufficient, that the empreſs ſhould content herſelf with ſimply anſwering, that in the violent general criſis Europe was now in, her duty and the dignity of her crown required her to take ſufficient meaſures for her own ſecurity as well as for the ſafety of her friends and allies." That the Empreſs-queen had approved of this anſwer; and to ſhew that the king of Pruſſia's ſtep and demand did not occaſion the leaſt embarraſſment here, her majeſty immediately ordered the hour of M. Klingræff's audience to be fixed for the next day, which was the day before yeſterday: and after hearing that miniſter's propoſition, juſt as he had imparted it to count de Kaunitz, ſhe had anſwered him preciſely in the terms abovementioned, and then ſuddenly broke off the audience with a nod, without entering into any further detail. It is certain that all Vienna, being then aſſembled in the Empreſs queen's drawing-room, as it was a day of *galla*, ſaw M. Klingræff enter, and depart in a very few minutes, with an embarraſſed countenance. I have all theſe particulars from the mouth of the count de Kaunitz, who on this occaſion has talked to me

me with more openeſs and confidence, than he had hitherto done, and even charged me to make uſe of them in my diſpatches to your excellency, but ſtill with the greateſt ſecrecy.

It is ſo much the leſs doubted that this anſwer, equally ſtrong and obſcure, will greatly puzzle the king of Pruſſia; and 'tis pretended here that that prince muſt be under a great deal of uneaſineſs, and that he has already drawn three millions of crowns out of his treaſury, for the charges of his preparations and augmentations.

It is preſumed, and not without probability, that his deſign in the demand abovementioned was, that if he had been anſwered, that he himſelf had been the cauſe of the armaments made here, he would have endeavoured to clear himſelf of the charge, by alledging, in proof of his innocence, that for this very reaſon he did not even form the camps which he has already traced to exerciſe his ſoldiers, but had ordered the regiments to ſeparate; perhaps imagining he ſhould lay this court under a neceſſity to follow his example by diſcontinuing likewiſe its preparations. However, I think, he will find it no eaſy matter to divert it from its deſign by ſuch illuſions as theſe.

We

We have learned by an expreſs who arrived laſt Sunday from the count de Puebla, that notwithſtanding the feigned diſpoſitions of the king of Pruſſia, his troops ſtill continued filing off towards Sileſia. Beſides, it is very eaſily underſtood that that prince, by the local poſition of his army, which he can aſſemble in as many weeks as it would require months to do the ſame here, on account of the diſtance of the places where the troops are quartered, has too viſible an advantage over this court, which he can put to ſuch great expences by long and continual marches, that they would at laſt become intolerable: I ſay, it is very readily underſtood, that it is neceſſary to purſue, without interruption, the meaſures already begun, in order to put themſelves, in the preſent circumſtances, upon equal terms, and in a good condition; that the king of Pruſſia may be thereby obliged, to keep up his armaments and the augmentations made, and to be made, which exceed his faculties, or waſte himſelf gradually; or elſe, in order to prevent this inconvenience, to take a precipitate reſolution; which, I think, is the very thing expected from him.

The return of M. Klingræff's courier, which the ſaid prince, no doubt, waits for with the utmoſt impatience, will give us more

more light into his dispositions. There is reason to believe, that if he thinks himself menaced, he will no longer delay coming to action, and preventing those whom he dreads, in order to take advantage of the situation in which this court will be till the end of the month of August, which is the term when all the troops are to be assembled. But on the other hand, if he remains quiet, he may be persuaded that he will not be molested or attacked, *at least not this year*. However, from all the observations I make, I cannot but imagine, that this court must be very sure of the friendship and attachment of Russia. And this seems to me to be farther confirmed by a letter of the 6 D. c. from M. Swart, the Dutch minister at Petersburgh, to M. de Burmannia, wherein he writes among other things, that the French emissary, the chevalier Douglas, gained ground every day.

As this cannot fail of producing an alteration in the old system of Russia, it does not appear surprising that the high chancellor count Bestucheff, agreeably to what your excellency did me the honour to write to me in your last dispatch, has resolved to retire into the country, under the pretext of recovering his health, and to withdraw awhile from public business; as he may be will-

willing to wait what turn affairs may take, and perhaps foresees that the hour is at hand, since the whole seems to depend on the king of Prussia's resolution; it being certain if he remains quiet, the court of Vienna will not begin to act neither, at least this year: but she will endeavour, during that interval, to finish her preparations, that she may the next year be in a situation to take a course suitable to the circumstances and events which time may produce.

This confirms me more and more in the opinion which I ventured to take the liberty to communicate to your excellency in my former letters, that our court has no surer means to profit by the present conjunctures, which, perhaps, never were so favourable during the reign of our august master, than by putting itself in a good posture, to the end that its concurrence may be courted. A friend of mine, who pretends to have his information from one of the clerks of the treasury, assures me, that this court has remitted a million of florins to Russia".

Count de Kaunitz has told me, that the advices which your excellency had conveyed to him of reports spread by the king of Prussia, concerning alliances to be made between him and us, as also with Russia; and, moreover, that this court was taking upon her

her to mediate between France and England; has already been sent to him by other hands, and consequently deserved the more attention, as well as to be contradicted; which the empress-queen's ministers at the courts of Europe would accordingly be ordered to do. This chancellor of state further told me, there was advice, that the king of Prussia had had an intention to surprize the city of Stralsund in Swedish Pomerania; and that, if this proved true, it was likely to be in consequence of the plot lately discovered at Stockholm.

If your excellency has an opportunity to make insinuations with safety at the court of London, you might perhaps do it some service by apprizing it of the danger into which it has been led by those who now have the greatest influence there.

It will be a hard task for that court to get out of the distress, which she has plunged herself into; and if she does not detach herself from the king of Prussia, by making her peace with France on the best conditions that can be had, the latter will go on from success to success, and from one project to another, which in the long run may prove fatal to the house of Hanover.

I beg it as a favour of your excellency, that you would not descend to particulars with

with M. de Broglie about any thing I have the honour to write to your excellency; becauſe that ambaſſador holds a correſpondence with M. d'Aubeterre, who has told me with ſome ſurprize, that the count de Broglie was fully perſuaded, that miſchief was intended againſt the king of Pruſſia, and even accuſed him of diſtruſt and too much reſerve concerning the deſigns of the court of Vienna.

The marquis d'Aubeterre having long ſolicited permiſſion to abſent himſelf from his poſt for a few months, in order to attend his family affairs, which require his preſence at Paris, has at laſt obtained his requeſt.

General Karoli, and not general Nadaſti, as was thought, has juſt been declared bann of Croatia.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. Flemming.

Numb. XXIX.

Dreſden, July 6, 1751.

To Count de Flemming *at* Vienna.

I take the opportunity of the departure of a courier, ſent by count de Sternberg to his court, with the advices which the count

de Puebla has lately communicated to him, concerning the mighty warlike preparations of the king of Prussia, which seem to threaten more and more a rupture on his part.

Your excellency cannot fail of being more particularly and specially informed of these advices and dangerous appearances, by the ministry of their Imperial majesties, and I content myself with transmitting to you the annexed extract of the last letter from M. de Bulow, who mentions the same apprehensions. Having just been discoursing in confidence on this subject with count de Sternberg, I am to authorise you, to confer on an object so interesting to both courts, with the ministry of that court where you reside; to make them sensible of the difficulties and dangers to which we should be exposed, by the passage of a Prussian army through Saxony, which our situation would no way permit us to oppose, or perhaps by some ulterior and more significative proposition and demand, which his Prussian majesty might make on that occasion; and to engage them to open their mind to us with the utmost confidence, in regard to the measures they intend to pursue, in order to preserve themselves from an unjust attack, and at the same time to cover and protect the dominions of the king

our

our maſter, which are again menaced thro' our faithful attachment to our allies.

To anſwer the laſt intent, it would no doubt be neceſſary to aſſemble forthwith a ſufficient army in the circles of Bohemia that are neareſt to our frontiers; and it would be equally uſeful to the two courts, if her majeſty the empreſs-queen would be pleaſed to order field-marſhal Brown to communicate and concert matters, at all events, and with the proper caution and ſecrecy, with our field-marſhal count Rutowſki, whom the king has already authoriſed for this purpoſe.

Being perſuaded that the court of Vienna finds her own account in our ſafety and preſervation, I have explained myſelf on all this more at large with the count de Sternberg, who will not fail to give an exact account thereof by the ſame courier; and for the reſt, I can depend on your penetration, zeal and addreſs, which diſpenſe with my adding here all the reflections and eſſential motives, ſuitable to this critical ſituation, and agreeable to the connections ſubſiſting between the two courts.

I only entreat your excellency to haſten, as much as poſſible, the eclairciſſements you may have to ſend me.

 I am, &c.

Anſwers

Answers of the Court of VIENNA,

TO THE

PRUSSIAN Declarations, circular Rescripts, and Memorials.

——— One thing remains to be cleared up; this is the great mystery which the king of Prussia thought proper to reveal to the public, with a view of justifying his precipitant measures in infracting the peace.

The spoils of the secret cabinet of Dresden are to afford him the materials, and to supply the want of true *motives* for his antecedent invasion.

In civil and private affairs it is, indeed, true, that no judge would admit of things, violently taken from the party accused, as a legal and good evidence. In political affairs, we have not yet had any such instance which might be imitated without prejudice to the law of nations.

But whatever these proceedings so violent, and never heard of, may come to, the

the intentions of Pruſſia cannot obtain their end by them. There is firſt the chief and moſt material queſtion; " Do theſe pieces of correſpondence, ſo taken and then publiſhed in the Pruſſian *memorial*, actually and really exiſt? And if they do, are their contents truly the ſame as related? And, ſuppoſe them to be originals, are they not falſe and ſuppoſititious?"

Theſe pretended originals are communicated only by way of extracts not duly connected; hence there remains a ſuſpicion, that ſuch paſſages as did not ſuit the publiſher of them, were purpoſely left out, or at leaſt diſguiſed by ſome able hand.

Such, and many other reaſonable doubts could be made, and this alone is enough to prevent an eaſy belief. It is a matter of ſurprize to ſee theſe pieces obtruded upon the public, from which it was expected that every body would blindly truſt the Pruſſian compiler to believe them, without examining the allegations.

The contents of the *memorial* when duly examined, manifeſtly tend to miſlead an inadvertent reader by the miſinterpretations of thoſe, called Juſtifying Proofs, which ſhew the very contrary of what the Pruſſian court affect to have found therein.

It is, indeed, hard to find out a reason, why they were published; there being many things, which the rules of policy ought to have induced the court of Berlin to conceal.

Directly in the preamble of the said memorial its author has committed a manifest blunder by annexing the *act*, or as he stiles it, *The Treaty of Partition* which, indeed, was entered into by his Polish majesty, as elector of Saxony, the 18th of May, 1745, during the late war; and forgetting at the same time, or wilfully omitting, the *union-project* delivered to his Polish majesty by count Harrach, after the conclusion of the peace of Dresden: though he is endeavouring to found his whole reasoning upon the renewal of the said *act* of the year 1745, which is contained therein.

However, the reason of this artful concealment is not difficult to be guessed at. He saw that, by the sketch thereof, there would appear the most sincere resolutions, faithfully and religiously to observe the reiterated conclusion of the treaty of peace, ratified by both parties, which was made the preliminary article to this *union-project*. The rest contained two provisions, one for time of peace, and the other for a future time

time of war. Concerning the first, it was stipulated that every thing should go on according to that quite innocent treaty of the 20th of December, 1743, and the act of the 13th of May, 1744; so that it was impossible to make any objections against it. In the article concerning a future time of war, proper care was taken, for fear of any misinterpretation, and therefore the following words were made use of; "But if, notwithstanding the management to be observed by the two contracting parties towards Prussia, and the sincerity and faith in fulfilling the treaties concluded, a new interruption of the peace established the 25th of December of last year, should on the other hand be undertaken, and consequently, *the same circumstances, as they were before the conclusion of this double peace, lay the parties, according to all laws both divine and human, under the same obligation towards each other; in such a case, but neither before, or otherwise, all shall be esteemed, renewed, and compromised, that the secret convention, signed Dresden, April 29th, and Vienna, May 3d, 1745, is capable of.*"

Who but the author of the above *memorial*, could look upon such proposals as of an extraordinary nature? According to the dif-

difference of times, different former conventions are proposed to be renewed; and the measures to be taken in a future time of war, are not to bind, nor take effect, until, *according to all laws, both divine and human*, the parties were no more bound to peace; and the full right of such treaties should not before be entered upon, or avail.

This was the project, and so it remained, as appears, among other things, from the answer of count Bruhl to count Flemming's letter, containing the intimation of count Uhlefeld, dated March 8th, 1753, and inserted among the Prussian Justifying Proofs, Numb. XIII. where some other conventional propositions are mentioned, to which count Bruhl made this answer; "I am previously of opinion, that what was promised us in the *declaration* of May 3d, 1745, might serve for the basis."

The abuse made of this first allegation by the Prussian court, will be a pattern to judge of the rest.

Two manifest falsities betray themselves in a particular manner in the allegation of two letters, Numb. XV. and XVI; one was written by Mr. Weingarten, the ambassador's secretary, and directed to count Uhle-

Uhlefeld at Vienna: the other is a letter of count Bernes to the Empreſs queen's miniſter at Berlin. It is neither probable or comprehenſible, that ſuch originals could ever have happened to be put up in the ſecret cabinet of Dreſden. However, ſuppoſe them to be originals, the firſt of theſe letters does not contain any thing prejudicial, but only the truth, concerning the continual military preparations of Pruſſia. The ſecond letter are private thoughts of a miniſter, which his court, on recognizance, never would have approved of, but rather cenſured them with indignation.——

The caſe of her majeſty the Empreſs-queen was very different from that of the king of Pruſſia: the continual danger of an attack ſhe was in, ſince the peace of Dreſdren, was a real concern. The experience of repeated infractions of the peace, committed by Pruſſia, and followed within a few years one by another, left no room to the court of Vienna to expect another fate: for the king of Pruſſia was continually arming himſelf, and augmenting his forces; though the peace was but lately concluded, and no probability of any danger; the houſe of Auſtria being engaged in another war, Ruſſia at a great diſtance, and Saxony too weak

weak for any enterprize: but Prussia was so serious in its preparations, as made it hard to distinguish a time of peace and a time of actual war from each other.

Adding the notorious turbulent temper of the present king, his continual intrigues with foreign courts, his contraventions, his raising disputes among his neighbours; nothing could be expected but that he would play his game again the first opportunity, and unexpectedly interrupt the most solemn treaties of peace: by which it would appear, that he only had made peace in order to prepare for another war with renewed strength.

The Imperial court of Russia has no less interest in the support of the house of Austria, than this house in the undisturbed tranquillity of the Russian monarchy, and both courts in the defence of the republic of Poland against the aggrandizing views of Prussia, and its intermedling with the domestic affairs of this kingdom. Therefore no better method could be taken to provide for the common welfare and future safety, than the union of the two courts, which was effected by the treaty of 1746, obliging each other to unite their strength for setting proper bounds to the overgrown power of

Prussia,

Prussia, if this king, not satisfied with the considerable acquisitions he had made, should again proceed to some hostilities against either of the contracting parties, or the republic of Poland, their ally.

These are the contents, and the view of the *fourth secret article* of this *defensive treaty* of friendship, concluded at Petersburgh, 1746, to which the Prussian *memorial* was endeavouring to give a false colour, by pretending it to be *offensive*.

How was it possible in any convention, to use plainer terms, or more binding expressions, than were made use of in this very article? The parties obliging each other to observe religiously the peace concluded at Dresden with the king of Prussia in every particular, and irrevocably to continue the renunciation and cession of Silesia and Glatz, without having any regress to the rights so renounced, *until it should happen that the king of Prussia himself, by attacking first Austria, Russia, or the republic of Poland, should make such a case to exist.*

The king of Prussia therefore had no reason to take umbrage at this article, the regress to the rights upon Silesia and Glatz being only casual; for it was in his power, by only

only omitting hostilities, to make it void and ineffectual—

The *fourth secret article* of this convention between the two Imperial courts, is a convincing proof that their motives and views, from the beginning, and ten years after, were no more than to procure a sufficient security against the dangerous neighbourhood of Prussia, and to agree before-hand upon proper measures to be taken for maintaining the general repose, including the republic of Poland, as an ally to both parties by compacts. The far-fetched Prussian inductions and idle insinuations of an offensive design, are therefore to be looked upon as entirely defeated by the nature of the above mentioned secret article, and its literal sense.

But suppose the engagements of the two courts by the treaty of Petersburgh, for obtaining this salutary end, had been to send some succours, without entering previously into a close union to stand with their united force against the original disturber of the peace, would not such measures have proved insufficient, and the execution thereof very dangerous, or even impossible? For the stipulated succours of 60,000 men could not have been sent to such distant provinces with-

without weakening the ſecurity of frontiers.

The peaceable intentions of the two courts required no more than mutual engagements conditionally entered upon, in caſe Pruſſia ſhould make the firſt attack, and again diſturb the common peace; which, doubtleſs, is a real and true mark to diſtinguiſh *defenſive from offenſive alliances.*

But the Pruſſian writers go a great deal farther, and endeavour to perſuade the public, that a prince is authorized to invade his neighbour, only upon a probability and ſuſpicion of being in danger to be attacked. If it be ſo, how can they maintain, that the Empreſs-queen could not, or ought not, to have taken meaſures by a treaty with Ruſſia, againſt a turbulent neighbour, who broke the peace three or four times, unprovoked by the houſe of Auſtria, and its allies? Self preſervation, which is founded on the principles of the law of nature, preſcribes this rule. "That one ought to be the more circumſpect and careful in providing ſufficient means, the greater the power is of a diſturber, in order to oppoſe effectually his deſigns."

Any power is authorized, beyond controverſy, to convene with other powers for

preſerving the general tranquillity; and no one can juſtly take offence at, or look upon it as a derogation from his rights. There may be ſeveral circumſtances which require, according to the laws of ſociety, that ſome number of them ſhould join hands for this purpoſe. If this ſhould be neglected, and a diſturber be ſure of never loſing, but keeping what he has, or what was ceded to him for the ſake of peace, or of encreaſing his poſſeſſions to aggrandize himſelf at the expence of his neighbours, there would be no living in this world in peace and ſafety for any ſtate.

We may remember the famous quadruple alliance concluded, with general approbation, in the year 1718, which perfectly agrees with our principles abovementioned. The ſeventh article, and the third ſecret article, as alſo the ſecond article of the acceſſion-act of the States-General, February 20, 1732, are particularly to be taken notice of. This alliance being made ſolely for the maintenance of public tranquillity, will be a ſufficient and convincing proof that the two maritime powers, in caſe of an attack have engaged themſelves to a great deal more towards Auſtria, than Ruſſia has done in the fourth ſecret article, of the treaty of Peterſ-

Petersburgh. The article last mentioned of this quadruple alliance, is comprised in the following formal expressions; "But in case the auxiliaries above mentioned should be found insufficient, in regard to the impendent necessity, then the contracting parties shall, without delay, agree to a more ample supply, and be bound, in order to repel the force of the enemy, and to procure satisfaction, reparation, and full security to the party offended, to assist, if necessity should require it, their ally with all their forces, and declare war against the aggressor." These last words, undoubtedly, imply all the effects of a declared war on the part of the aiding powers.

The king of Prussia therefore ought not to have taken offence at the secret article of the treaty of Petersburgh; for the two contracting parties would never have had it in their power to make use of it for the recovery of Silesia, as long as the king of Prussia had had so much power over himself as to enjoy the advantages secured to him by the treaty of Dresden, in peace and quiet; especially as in the same place where this article makes mention of the Prussian hostilities, these remarkable words are added; "In case his majesty the king of Prussia should,

contrary to expectation, and against our common wishes, first recede from that peace."

And again the following condition, expressed in the strongest terms possible, "That the two contracting parties should "do their utmost to prevent." And again these words, "That such measures should "only then, but not before, take place, "when their peaceable endeavours were "frustrated." Was there ever taken more care to avoid even a mere shadow of offence? And yet the Prussian Memorial in vindication of the conduct of the King, makes bold to interpret that, which was intended to prevent any suspicion of an offensive alliance, as a formal plan of an offensive convention tending to dispossess the king of Prussia of Silesia.———

The electorate of Saxony has hitherto had the same reasons as the house of Austria, and more too, to be on its guard with the utmost caution, on account of the dangerous Prussian neighbourhood; and, in consequence thereof, to long for aid and deliverance. It was however obliged, on account of its situation and inferior strength, to keep scrupulously and with the utmost care, within the bounds of respect.

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The Pruſſian court, at preſent, accuſes the court of Saxony, from its own ſecret papers, of no more than an inclination and deſign to accede to the meaſures of Auſtria and Ruſſia, and this only in caſe of a Pruſſian rupture. But it appears very plainly that the fact, *i. e.* the actual acceſſion, did not follow. Witneſs all the pretended juſtifying Proofs, and the Memorial itſelf, which does not deny the truth in this reſpect.

It is granted, that the court of Berlin could not poſſibly expect any other reſolution from the court of Saxony, conſidering the unneighbourly manner and oppreſſions, both in regard to commerce and other provincial affairs, Saxony ſuffered from Pruſſia ſince the late peace. It is no wonder, when ſuch a conduct has grieved the Saxon miniſters to their heart, and made them ſpeak more freely to others about it; yet the court ought not to be made reſponſible for it, nor the whole country treated cruelly, the effect of which may be felt for a whole century.

The king of Pruſſia, who makes this his motive for his preſent unwarrantable procedures againſt Saxony, betrays thereby his exceſſive pride; for he ſeems to imagine himſelf the monarch againſt whom all the powers make themſelves guilty of treaſon, and the moſt abominable conſpiracies, as

ſoon as they entertain but a thought of refuſing the yoke of Pruſſian ſuperiority, or preſuming to withdraw themſeves from his puniſhing rod.

If a mere intention to oppoſe unnatural violences is a ſufficient charge againſt the electoral houſe of Saxony, what can the world judge of ſuch deſigns as never, to this time, tended to prevent violences, but to act arbitrarily againſt other powers, and to oppreſs all the neighbours? Such are the acts too often committed by Pruſſia.

The electoral court of Saxony would not find it a difficult matter to expoſe to the whole world the falſity of the accuſations, which Pruſſia ſo much endeavours to demonſtrate from its pretended Juſtifying Proofs, and to confront the idle interpreter of them: for, indeed, the pretences ſo much boaſted of, cannot, upon a cloſer compariſon of the circumſtances, have any weight with the unprejudiced reader.

For inſtance, what hoſtile deſigns can be gathered from the two ſentiments of the privy council to his majeſty the king of Poland and elector of Saxony, annexed, by way of extract, to the Pruſſian *memorial*, Numb. VI. and VII? The firſt of theſe ſentiments contains not a word of their looking upon the fourth ſecret article of the

treaty

treaty of Peterſburgh, as an offenſive convention: they only ſay, that upon a future exiſtence of the caſe of covenant, all the contracting and acceding parties were to be regarded as belligerant parties; which, according to the above true principles, and frequent examples, is not againſt the nature of a defenſive alliance. The ſecond ſentiment takes only notice of what the king of Pruſſia, according to his own way of thinking, might ſay, and how he would take and miſapply the matter.

Moſt of the other allegations are to this purport: That the electoral court of Saxony would direct its meaſures according to future events, waiting firſt a Pruſſian attack and ſubſequent diverſion to be made by its allies. There is not found any trace, by which to diſcover, ſome real concert reſembling offenſive meaſures, that were taken in conjunction with the courts of Vienna and Peterſburg, previous to the Pruſſian invaſion of Saxony; though this court is accuſed of ſuch by Pruſſia. The hopes of the Saxon court were fixed only on future events, which appears by the letter of count Bruhl, inſerted in the Pruſſian Memorial, dated but a ſhort time before hoſtilities were commenced, viz. the 18th of July. His words are theſe; "Neither do I deſpair, but we

"may

"may be able to avail ourselves of such "favourable events, as will, perhaps, oc-"cur hereafter."

Allegations of this kind are quite opposite to the pretexts of Prussia, and clearly prove that no defensive, much less offensive measures were then concerted with the court of Dresden, though it was then time to enter upon them against the approaching enemy.

It likewise appears, by Numb. XIX. that the armaments of Prussia had begun to be extraordinary as early as in the year 1754; which is confirmed by Numb. XX. giving an account of the raising of seven new Prussian regiments.

The letters of count Flemming to count Bruhl, Numb. XXVII. and XXVIII. contain so many sensible considerations on the nature of affairs, as they stood then, but a short time before the Prussian invasion, that it is hard to comprehend the reasons that could induce the court of Berlin to make them public. The answers given by the court of Vienna to the demands of Prussia, make part of these letters, which are in substance, "That the court of Vienna had no "other view than to keep peace, but was "obliged to prepare against all events." And again, "That this court had no de-

"sign

"sign for war, but would not be wanting "to prepare for its own defence; and that "it could not enter upon any farther de-"clarations to its own prejudice." Again, "That the king of Prussia should not be "attacked at least this year, provided he "remained quiet, &c."

The rest of all these letters, and the conjectures concerning future events are ministerial sentiments, which do not determine any thing, much less advance any convincing proof of a resolution being taken, previous to the Prussian invasion, to change the defensive treaty with Russia into an offensive alliance, which, according to the above principles, the parties would have been fully authorized to do.

It is but the fancy of Prussia, that bare letters and the sentiments of a foreign minister can be taken for proofs, in opposition to the plainest declarations given by the court itself, where such a minister resides.

But the court of Vienna did not find it proper to make a new declaration in compliance with the Prussian dictates, after a sufficient answer was given already to the first demand. The reason was this: the truce proposed for two years supposed an actual war and real offensive circumstances, or offensive measures agreed upon by the two Em-

Empresses, which this court could not, against truth, and the assurances already given, allow to be the case; and because the obligations by the peace of Dresden would, in consequence of such a declaration, have been void.

As for the court of Vienna in particular, the Prussians might have spared themselves the trouble of stretching forth their hands to unlawful means, and the violent breaking open of the royal cabinet in a neutral country and co-estate of the Empire. This court never had a mind to deny its distrust in regard to the king of Prussia, or to disguise its designs by giving a close attention to the continual armaments and unwarrantable violences committed on all sides: nor could this court be frightened by a Prussian aggression, or deterred from its defensive measures by any threats and artifices. There have been taken, since the late breach, the most effectual measures, in order to make the author of the present troubles repent of his open injustice, violences, and rash perfidy.

These general answers to the Prussian pieces are thought sufficient, there being nothing found therein but a heap of useless and odious repetitions of the same figment. The far-fetched accusations about things

not

not belonging to the ſubject, cannot be called real charges, but Pruſſian calumnies. The ſubtleties of arguing, and other ſcholaſtic ſtuff about the difference between offenſive and defenſive wars, are not worth a reply, as long as the aggreſſor cannot make good by convincing proofs, but only by idle aſſertions and tales ſo often contradicted, his falſe ſuppoſition, "That Auſtria made the firſt preparations for war, and agreed with Ruſſia and Saxony upon offenſive meaſures."

But ſince a proof, ſo contrary to manifeſt truth, cannot poſſibly be expected, it alſo muſt not be expected on our part, that we ſhould enter upon the particulars of the late Pruſſian impreſſions intended to confute the reply of the court of Vienna to the Pruſſian declaration, and to claim the guarantee of the Empire for its diſturber. The public cannot have been much edified by the regard due to crowned heads which they boaſt of, nor diſcovered any thing very material that could be deemed a pattern, (except for affronting): her majeſty the Empreſs queen can be very eaſy in regard to her co-eſtates, there being no reaſon of their odium towards her for any violences, or dangerous deſigns againſt their liberties and ancient rights.

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As for Mr. Weingarten the younger, it is enough to acquaint here the public with one particular circumstance, which, as for truth, may be depended upon. He has, for near two years, had a Prussian pension, which was paid to him by the sieur Eichel, privy counsellor to the king; and the king himself has twice entered upon some discourse with him. From this the impartial public will judge what ought to be thought of the Prussian Excuse and Cabinet-order conceived in uncommonly polite terms; and whether it is not probable that this gentleman is still secreted somewhere by the king of Prussia. His person and family have often been demanded, but without effect.

Finally, it appears very plain, that no tranquillity for Europe, nor any security for the empire, or its states, of what religion soever, is to be hoped for, as long as the king of Prussia can, with success, commit violences after violences, destroy whole provinces, and break through the most solemn treaties of peace, at his pleasure.

End of the FORTY SECOND VOLUME.